

MAJOR GENL. BROWN

U. S. Army.

HIS

OF THE

# LATE WAR

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

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BY JOHN LEWIS THOMSON.

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FIFTH, AND AN IMPROVED EDITION.

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May—1818.

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*District of Pennsylvania*, to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eleventh day of April, in the forty-second year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1818, John Lewis Thomson and Thomas Desilver of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

“Historical Sketches of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain. By John Lewis Thomson. Fifth, and an improved Edition.”

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D. CALDWELL,  
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.



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TO THE

HON. JAMES MONROE,

SECRETARY OF STATE, OF THE UNITED STATES,

WHOSE EFFORTS,

AS WELL ON AN EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES,  
AS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

To negotiate an honourable Adjustment of those Differences which  
resulted in the late Contest with Great Britain,

WERE CHARACTERISED BY THE MOST INDEFATIGABLE ZEAL;

AND WHO PRESIDED WITH DISTINGUISHED ABILITY  
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

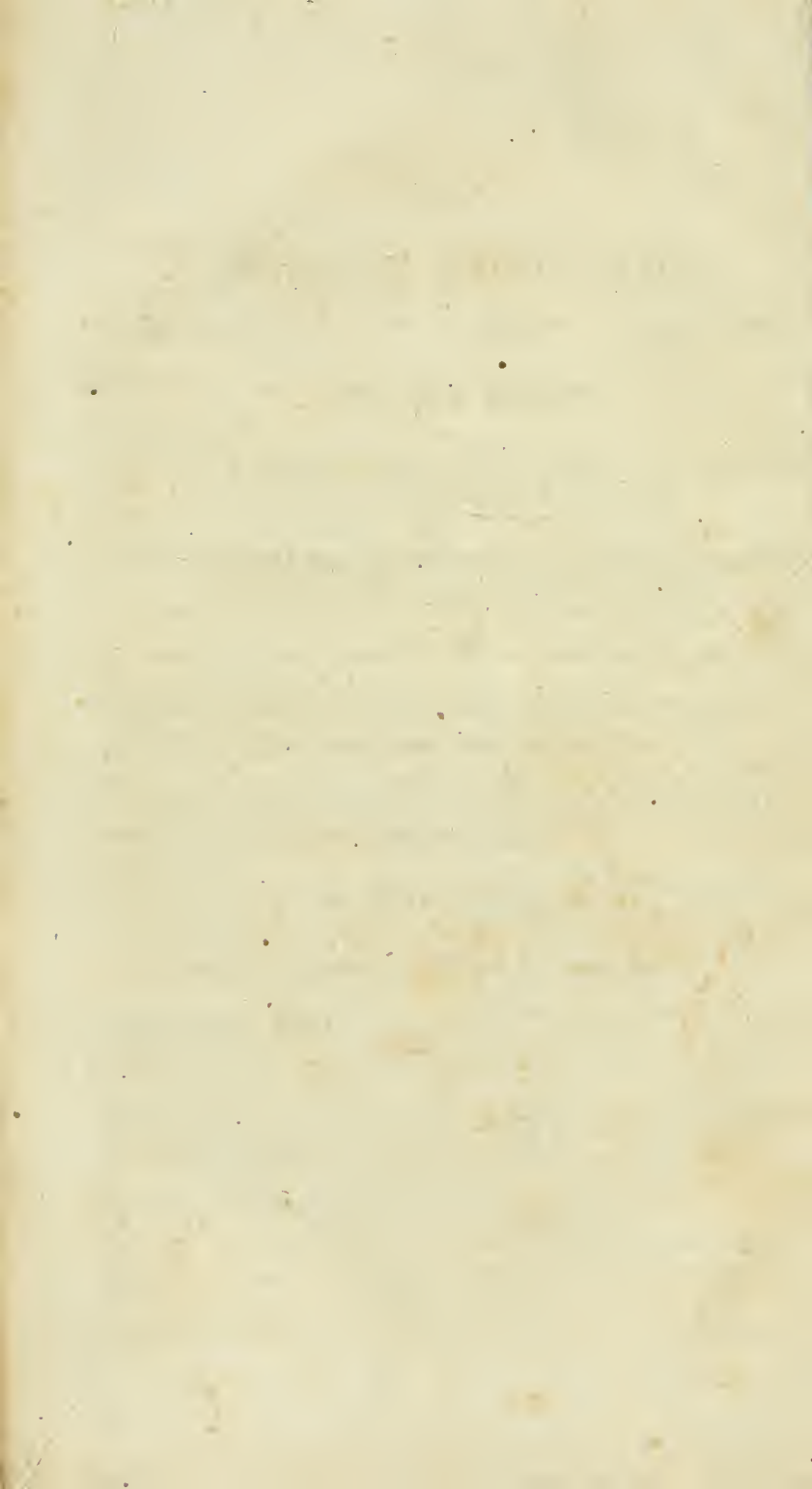
At the Period most memorable for the Achievements of the  
American arms; .

*THIS WORK,*

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BY

THE AUTHOR.

*Philadelphia, July 4, 1816.*



# PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

WHEN proposals were issued for the publication of this work, some time after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, its contemplated plan embraced nothing more than the compilation of hasty sketches of the leading events of the war, arranged in chronological order, and with a proper regard to the preservation of the principal features, and the general characters, of the land and naval engagements. The author was not long in discovering that infinite pains and excessive labour were necessary, to the collection of materials from which these sketches, however concise, might be made, with that fidelity which such subjects require.

His resources at that period, though stamped with the character of authenticity, were extremely limited, and he found it necessary to intimate his intentions to officers of the army and navy, who had been engaged in many of the events which it was his design to perpetuate, and upon the truth of whose statements he could implicitly



rely. These intimations were followed by many assurances of assistance from gentlemen of all ranks in the service, and by promises of full, and accurate, accounts of the operations of the fleets and armies. From such fruitful and authentic sources, the author could not fail to elicit the best possible information, and though he did not immediately contemplate an extension of the limits of the work, he determined to put it more in the form of a familiar and connected narrative, than might have been expected from its title, without assuming, however, the style of a history.

The length and number of the journals and statements transmitted to him, not only tended to increase his labours, but produced much more delay in the completion of the work, and prolonged its appearance beyond the day on which it was thought it would, in all probability, be published.

To the same cause is to be attributed the circumstance of its having attained the three hundredth page, before the account of the northern campaign was fully detailed, and to that circumstance he must refer his readers, for the conciseness of the description of the capture of Washington, the attack upon Baltimore, the operations upon the whole southern coast, and of the bril-

hiant and unparalleled repulse of the enemy before New Orleans. Limited as these descriptions are, it became necessary to add seventy-two pages to the number promised, and the expenses of the work have, in consequence, been so much increased, that without incurring an absolute loss, its bulk could not possibly be any further extended.

The Author cannot conclude this Preface, without assuring his readers that no efforts have been neglected to ascertain the principal facts connected with the events of the war. Persevering as he has been, however, he fears that omissions have been made, or that some mis-statements may have crept into the work, and to such he begs the indulgence of those persons who were concerned in the events, as the attainment of the knowledge of such facts too frequently eludes the most industrious research, and the contradictory accounts, with which he has been supplied, have often thrown him into perplexing embarrassments.

# PREFACE

TO

## THE FIFTH EDITION.

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this work, the author has been constantly employed in collecting further materials from which to describe the sortie from fort Erie, and the siege and defence of New Orleans. Through the politeness of several gentlemen, whose names he does not feel himself authorized, nor is he indeed permitted, to mention, he has been enabled to detail the operations of the rival armies, more at length, at each of those places. He has had it in his power also to enlarge upon the accounts, before given, of other important and brilliant events, and to correct several errors, which, notwithstanding the most studied precautions, seldom fail to insinuate themselves into all works of this nature. From these, however, even in the present edition, he cannot have the presumption to avow himself wholly free; but he has, nevertheless, the satisfaction of declaring, that many of his statements have received the entire approbation of officers of rank, to whom the perusal of the first edition has been submitted.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

ON presenting to the public a FIFTH EDITION of the Historical Sketches of the Late War, the subscriber thinks it incumbent on him to state, that notwithstanding its price has been reduced from Two Dollars to One Dollar and Seventy-five Cents, bound, the work has undergone a very careful revision by the author, and *without any diminution of the number of pages*. This reduction of the price owes its cause to the publication, at a lower price, of a similar work, after the appearance of a former impression of this, with an evident intention of checking its sale, and limiting the just profits of the proprietor. To obviate as much as possible the consequences of a competition, ungenerous in itself and subversive of the general principles of the trade, he has so far lessened the expenses of the work, as to enable him to put it at its present price, without injury to his interests. The illiberality of the competition alluded to, is highly aggravated by the fact of the compilation having been made so much after the manner of the Historical Sketches, that if the copy-right has not been actually violated, the privileges which the law so justly secures to the proprietor of a work, have been glaringly infringed.

THOMAS DESILVER.





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# HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

## LATE WAR, &c.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Indian hostilities—Battle on the Wabash—Conduct of the British Cabinet and Cruisers—Declaration of War against Great Britain—Invasion of Canada—Fall of Fort Michilimackinac—Skirmish near Aux Canards—M. Arthur's Excursion—Skirmish at Brownstown—Evacuation of Sandwich—Battle of Magauga—Fort Chicago—Surrender of Detroit.*

ABOUT the close of the year 1811, the Indian affairs on the southern and northwestern frontiers of the United States, assumed an aspect of a much more alarming nature than had marked any of the previous depredations of the neighbouring tribes. Incessant incursions, were followed by the extinction of whole families, and the several nations seemed emulous of excelling each other in acts of the greatest horror. An unextinguishable hostility was manifested by the most powerful chiefs and warriors, whose enmity towards the frontier inhabitants, was excited, and kept alive, by an industrious circulation of inflammatory addresses, and alluring gifts. The conduct of the British traders, was far from being consistent with the pacific dis-

position, which their government had been professing; and the facility with which the Indians became possessed of every description of offensive weapons, known to be beyond their means, either to manufacture or to purchase, led to suspicions of their having been supplied by its appointed agents. The result of investigations, made by the governors of Ohio, and of the Michigan and Illinois territories, gave strong confirmation of these suspicions, and it was well ascertained that great quantities of arms, and ammunition, had been delivered to the different nations, contiguous to the British posts.

The influence of a *Shawanese*, who styled himself "The Prophet," and who neglected no means to excite the most violent animosities against the people of the United States, had produced among the Indians, on the borders of the Wabash, a disposition to massacre and plunder, to so enormous an extent, that the vigorous interference of the government was no longer to be withheld. Measures were therefore immediately adopted, in conjunction with governor W. H. Harrison, to repel by force, outrages, which could not be prevented by treaty. The militia of Indiana, and a regiment of United States infantry, commanded by colonel (since general) John P. Boyd, were accordingly ordered to march under governor Harrison, to the Prophet's town to demand restoration of the plunder, which the Indians had seized, and to reduce them to such terms, as should secure the future peace of that territory. In the month of November, of 1811, this body of troops were within four miles of the Prophet's town, (having already marched thirty-four days) before the Indians had any expectation of seeing them; when one of the chiefs came out, and proposed that governor Harrison should encamp near them until morning, at which time the Prophet would willingly enter into a treaty of peace. This proposal was agreed to, and the troops were encamped in line of battle, with orders to keep on their accoutrements, and to lie upon their arms, so that they might be ready for action without one moment's delay. At four o'clock on the morning of the seventh, the camp was attacked with great fury, by the savages, at a point where the bayonet, however, soon dispersed them, and where three Indians were found within the line of sentinels seeking the commander. The morning was excessively dark,

and the men could only be distinguished by the watchword, or the flashes of the musketry. By the aid of this momentary light, the Indians were seen crowding into the camp, but they were entirely routed by several vigorous and intrepid charges. The conduct of colonel Boyd and the fourth regiment, after the action had become more general, intimidated and put the Indians to flight: at the dawn of day they were closely pursued, and numbers of them killed. The cavalry were brought into action, but the savages fled from them in great confusion, abandoned their town, into which they had been driven, and escaped across the river. Fifty-three Indians were lying dead about the encampment, and their loss in killed and wounded, was estimated at 150. Of the fourth regiment 77 were killed and wounded. The loss of the whole force amounted, from the most accurate account, to 187. Most of the militia under governor Harrison, behaved with great courage and bravery; and to colonel Boyd, whose experience in the Mahrattah (India) service, led to such an expectation, is much of the success of this battle to be attributed.\*

Tranquillity being now restored to the territory of Indiana, the troops returned to fort Harrison, and the militia to their homes. Many months had not elapsed, however, before the Prophet, in connexion with his brother, *Tecumseh*, a chief of great valour, and of equal ambition, threatened a renewal of hostilities, not only against the inhabitants of Indiana, but of the adjacent territories. To guard against future encroachments from the savages, and to protect such of the inhabitants as had yet escaped their fury, it was necessary that the peace establishment should be augmented, and new regiments raised, of a nature to cope with the Indian warfare. Indications of hostility to the interests of the United States, were about this time evinced in the conduct, as well of the British minis-

\* In this action the Indians were commanded by *White Loon*, *Stone Eater*, and *Wynemack*, a Potawatomic chief, who was slain afterwards (in November, 1812) by *Tecumseh's* nephew, a chief of the name of *Logan*, attached to the northwestern army, at fort Winchester. *Tecumseh* was absent from his tribe on a visit to the Creeks and Chickasaws, and the Prophet remained in his town, during the engagement, offering his intercessions with the Great Spirit, for the success of his arms.



try, as of their public ships of war, on the American coast, in neutral ports, and on the ocean.

In the event of a more decided character being given to this state of relations, between the United States, and Great Britain, and the Indians, the necessity of a larger army would become still more urgent. In providing against these threatening evils, the second session of the twelfth congress had been protracted to an unusual length, and, on finding remonstrances to be unavailing, the President, on the first of June, 1812, laid before the two houses a detail of the various enormities committed against this nation by the British government, and the officers representing it. Their immediate attention was required to the subject, as it was thought necessary, by the greatest proportion of the people, that such encroaching injuries, should at last be resisted by the most effectual means. Documents being in possession of the executive, which placed the insulting practices of the British, against the commerce and national honour of the United States, beyond all doubt, the communication set forth,

“ That the cruisers of that nation had been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it; not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations—against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects;

“ That they had been in the practice also of violating the peace and the rights of our coasts, by hovering over and harassing our entering and departing commerce, and that to the most insulting pretensions they had added the most lawless proceedings in our very harbours; and wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction;

“ That they were aiming to sacrifice our commercial interests, and were laying waste our neutral trade, not because we supplied their enemy, but by carrying on a war against our friendly commerce that they might themselves pursue an intercourse with their enemy;

“ That they were plundering our vessels on the high seas under pretended blockades, without the necessary presence of an adequate force to maintain them; and that to these transcendent acts of injustice the cabinet

“ of Great Britain added at length the *sweeping system of blockade* under the name of orders in council, which had been moulded to suit its political views, its commercial jealousies or the avidity of British cruisers;

“ That at the very moment when their public minister was holding the language of friendship and inspiring confidence in the sincerity of the negotiation with which he was charged, a secret agent of his government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our government and a dismemberment of our union;

“ That the warfare which was just renewed by the savages on our frontiers, which spared neither age nor sex, and was distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity, could not be referred to without connecting their hostility with the influence of British traders and garrisons, nor without recollecting the authenticated examples of the interpositions of the officers and agents of that government.” And,

“ That in fine, on the side of Great Britain, there was a state of war against the United States; and on the side of the United States a state of peace towards Great Britain.”

The committee of foreign relations, to whom this message was referred, reported a manifesto to the house, in which, after recapitulating these grievances, they recommended, as the only measure to prevent future aggression, an immediate appeal to arms; and on the 18th day of June, an act was passed, declaring war against the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, which received the executive sanction.

A small army, consisting of the 4th regiment of infantry, and three regiments of Ohio volunteers, was ordered, under the command of brigadier-general Hull, to protect the frontiers against the incursions of the savages. After the declaration of war, this force, being nearest to the most convenient point of invasion, was directed to repair to the town of Detroit, on the river of that name, and opposite Sandwich, a beautiful and extensive village in Upper Canada.

On the fifth of July, after a tedious and fatiguing march of thirty-five days, during which he was obliged to fortify his camp, at every position which he occupied at night,

to prevent a surprise from a party of Indians, who, aided by the British, had closely and constantly reconnoitred him, and who had planned an attack upon Detroit, which the approach of his army frustrated, general Hull arrived at that post with 2,500 men. He had no sooner garrisoned the American shore of the Detroit, than the British began to throw up breast-works, and to erect batteries, on the opposite side. The first of these was destroyed by a well directed fire from the fort, and the persons employed at it, were obliged precipitately to retire; a second, which was situated about three miles below, was destroyed in like manner, by a few pieces of cannon despatched for that purpose, and worked with so much skill, that the enemy was compelled to abandon his design, of fortifying at that point.

Active preparations were now making for an immediate invasion of Canada; boats of large capacity were constructed; and the passage of the whole army was to be effected at the same instant. The width of the river being favourable to the crossing of the troops, either above or below the point, selected to oppose their landing, the enemy was allowed, on his third attempt, to erect without annoyance, a battery of seven small cannon, and two mortars. These arrangements being effected, the embarkation took place on the 12th, and the army landing on the Canadian shore, above the fort, entered Sandwich without opposition. Those of the inhabitants, who had not been compelled to repair to the defence of Malden, were without arms, and therefore made no show of resistance to the Americans, by whom they were honourably respected in their property and persons. Possession was had, in a few days, of the whole country, from the river Thames, or *la Tranche*, so called from the evenness and beauty of its bank, to a rivulet, within five miles of Malden, whither the British regulars, and Canadian militia, with a great number of Indians, had retired.

Prior to the occupation of Sandwich, however, the enemy had removed his most valuable stores, and whilst he was throwing up breast-works, and apparently fortifying that place for defence, the largest division of his troops was employed in transporting them to Amherstburg.

If general Hull's instructions, admitted of his striking



a blow immediately on his arrival at Detroit, a favourable opportunity was culpably neglected. But, on hearing a proposition from his officers, to cross the river below; to cut off the communication, between the two divisions, at Sandwich and Amherstburg; and suddenly to rush upon, and carry fort Malden by storm; he alleged the necessity of waiting for positive orders for the invasion of Canada, before he could embark his troops for that purpose. Whilst the force at Malden, was weakened by the employment of the men at Sandwich, this project might have been carried into effect, and his army, besides prisoners, would have obtained a large accession of stores and ammunition. When he arrived at Sandwich, the British army, with these, and other stores, and an augmented Indian force, had collected at, and were placing Malden in a state to sustain a siege. To attempt the reduction of that garrison by storm, after the enemy had effected this concentration of his forces, it would be necessary to proceed against it, with a train of battering cannon, and ladders, of a sufficient height and number, to scale the walls at various points. The American army had neither of these, at that time, in readiness, and its operations were delayed for one month, in preparing two 24-pounders and three howitzers. In this interval, such advantages were gained, as result from subsisting on the resources of the enemy's country, and the capture of some camp articles, and a small supply of arms, by reconnoitring parties.

Meanwhile, the British and Indians at St. Josephs, had been making preparations for an attack on fort *Michilimackinac*,\* (a position on an island of that name, and within general Hull's command) and on the 16th, four days after the occupation of Sandwich, by the troops of the United States, the British embarked at St. Josephs, and reached the island early on the following morning. Their force, consisting of 306 white troops, and 715 Indians, was commanded by captain Roberts, of the British regulars, who sent in a prisoner to inform the commandant, that if any resistance was made, the garrison and inhabitants would be indiscriminately put to the sword. The inhabitants knowing that the fort had but 57 men for its defence, escaped from the island, or delivered themselves to

\* Pronounced—Mackinaw.

the enemy, in great numbers; but many of them had no opportunity to do either, and were obliged to remain, and abide the issue of the day. The commandant of the garrison, lieutenant Porter Hanks, of the artillery, determined to give as gallant a resistance to the assailants as his small force would allow him.

The island of *Michilimackinac* is about nine miles in circumference. It is separated from the main land by a strait of about seven miles broad, its greatest breadth is three miles, and its elevation above the lake, on its highest ground, about 168 feet. Two square stone houses, united by a stockade, stand in the rear of the fort, which is situated on a bluff rock rising from the water, but is entirely overlooked by the high ground at the distance of 600 yards. The island itself is of a circular form, highest in the centre, and resembling a turtle's back; from which circumstance it is said to have taken its name—(*Michilimackinac*, or the Turtle).

The enemy had landed on the back part of the island, and urged his approach within cannon shot of the fort, where he gained the eminence commanding it, and from which, he directed a piece of heavy cannon against its most defenceless side. The Indians were arranged on the edge of an adjoining wood. The British commandant now sent a flag, with a demand for the surrender of the fort and island, and communicated the first intelligence which the garrison received, of the declaration of war. The movement of the British and Indians, had been until this moment, considered as one, among the many outrages, to which the frontier of that neighbourhood had been exposed, and the American commandant had resolved to shut himself up, and defend the fortress to the very last extremity, though it should result in the total annihilation of his force. But, on being informed of the actual state of hostilities, he was aware, that if he held out, the enemy, whose present number could not be effectually opposed, might be largely reinforced, and that the fall of the garrison, would be followed by the threatened indiscriminate slaughter, as well of the soldiers composing it, as of the non-combatant inhabitants of the island. The only measure, which could save them from the brutal massacre of the savages, was a surrender of

the fort to the British, and lieutenant Hanks very prudently entered into terms of capitulation, in which he secured a promised protection to all private property, though he put the enemy in possession of a post, susceptible of being rendered the strongest in America.

It will be observed that the loss of *Michilimackinac*, took place on the 17th of July, and that general Hull, already apprised of the war, had arrived at Detroit on the 5th—and the reader will judge, whether this intelligence could not have been transmitted to *Michilimackinac*, a distance of 254 miles, and whether that post ought not to have been immediately reinforced. The enemy had knowledge of the existence of hostilities, through the activity of persons concerned in the Northwest Fur Company, nine days *before* the arrival of the American disposables, whilst the American garrison was suffered to remain in ignorance twelve days *after*—and to the vigilance of one side, and the tardiness, or negligence of the other, this disaster is certainly to be ascribed.

Preparations were still going on at Sandwich, for an attempt on Malden, when the troops were informed of the affair at *Michilimackinac*, by the capture of two vessels in which the prisoners taken there, had been embarked. Unless the contemplated attack on Malden, should result in the success of the American arms, the situation of the troops would become critical in the extreme; the possession of *Michilimackinac* gave to the enemy many decided advantages, and if the capture of that post was followed up by an assault on fort *Chicago*, all the fortified stations west of Detroit, would be in his hands, and the whole of his Indian forces might be thrown upon that frontier. Detroit would be an easy conquest, and the American army might be so encompassed, that its retreat would be impossible. The Indians from the shores of the northwestern lakes, were already released from constraint, and the British commander was collecting large bodies of them, to move down upon Detroit, and the intermediate garrisons. Depending on the arrival of reinforcements, however, for which, in anticipation of these events, general Hull had despatched numerous expresses; and being assured of the importance of the occupation of Amherstburg, he remained at Sandwich, carrying on an



excursive war by small parties, and reconnoitring the enemy's outposts with incessant vigilance.

Colonel Cass, of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers, was ordered, with a detachment of 280 men, to reconnoitre an advanced post of the enemy upon a long bridge, crossing *La Riviere Aux Canards*, or the river of the Ducks, about four miles from fort Malden. A company of riflemen, commanded by captain Robinson, was concealed near the bridge, with directions to fire upon, and divert the attention of the guard stationed upon it, as soon as the remaining part of the detachment should be seen on the opposite bank of the river, which was intended to be forded about five miles below. An unlooked for difficulty at the ford, caused so much delay in the movement of the detachment, that it did not appear at the appointed ground until sunset, when, having marched without a guide, too near the bank of the river, its progress was obstructed by a tributary creek; to pass this, a march of another mile was necessary, and time was consequently allowed for the enemy to prepare for his defence. On coming down the creek, colonel Cass found the British already formed, and received from them a distant fire of musketry. The detachment moved on, however, in good order and with great spirit and alacrity. The British, who had been reinforced, at intervals, during the whole afternoon, and whose number was made up of the 41st regiment, and some Indians, made several other attempts to fire, but were as often compelled to retreat, the detachment continuing to move on, regardless of their opposition. They were driven more than half a mile, when the darkness of the night made further pursuit hazardous, and colonel Cass was content to possess the bridge and some adjoining houses, until morning, when, after reconnoitring the neighbourhood, and not finding the enemy, he commenced his return to the camp, at Sandwich. No accurate information could be obtained of the force opposed to the detachment, but the loss of the enemy, was reported by deserters, at eleven killed and wounded. The detachment lost not a single man. The bridge was afterwards fortified by the British, with six pieces of artillery; but this being deemed insufficient for its defence, they removed both bridge and battery, and planted their cannon



behind a breastwork constructed from the timber of the former.

Three days after (19th July) colonel M'Arthur, with 150 men from his own regiment (Ohio volunteers) on relieving a detachment which was out, proceeded to the reconnoitring ground of colonel Cass, whence he discovered the enemy—85 regulars, 40 Indians, and 150 militia, protected by this battery. The *Queen Charlotte* of 20 guns being at the same time anchored in Detroit river, at the mouth of *Aux Canards*, with a gun boat cruising about her. The firing was kept up nearly an hour between the battery, and a few riflemen in advance of the troops, but at too great a distance to have effect, whilst M'Arthur was examining the *Queen Charlotte*.

On finding the enemy so well protected by the battery, the riflemen were ordered to retire to the detachment; but M'Arthur's desire to ascertain the true situation of the enemy, induced him to go near the broken bridge with a glass. He discovered that the Indians had principally left the battery, and almost at the same instant, was informed by a messenger from the detachment, that a number of them were seen passing to a road in its rear. He was now attended by Dr. M'Anaw and captain Puthuff, who, on turning their horses to ride with him to the detachment, were fired upon by about thirty Indians, from their concealment in a brush, at the distance of only 100 yards. They escaped, however, without being hurt, and colonel M'Arthur, immediately after led his men to the pursuit of the Indians and drove them across *Aux Canards* to the battery, between the detachment and which, the fire was kept up, at long shot, for three hours, without other injury to the Americans, than the wounding of two men, though several broadsides had been discharged from the *Queen Charlotte*.

The chief, *Tecumseh*, celebrated for his dexterity with the tom-hawk and rifle, not less than for his relentless cruelty in the use of them, against the inhabitants of the frontier, was at the head of the Indians. The escape, therefore, of M'Arthur and his companions from a troop of savages, trained and commanded by such a warrior as *Tecumseh*, was truly miraculous. It was no less fortunate, that the detachment bravely moved up, at the report

of the fire of the Indians, and put them to immediate flight. M'Arthur encamped for the night within two miles of *Aux Canards*, and, on the following morning, returned to the army, with colonel Cass, and 100 men, by whom he was then joined.

Between this time and the beginning of August, no event took place, which could afford the American troops an opportunity of displaying their true character. The inclemency of the weather was very unfavourable to the operations of an army. Sudden transitions from extreme heat, to intense cold, followed by violent storms of rain and hail, rendered them both sickly and discontented. They had been all enamoured of an expedition, which promised them so much honour and renown, and when they landed on the Canadian shore, they were filled with such assurances of conquest, as made their impatience for achievement almost ungovernable. The tardiness, which now seemed inseparable from the conduct of their commander, dispirited them, and destroyed whatever of confidence they might have reposed in him before. The result of a council of war, however, which it was found necessary to convoke, revived all their desires, and a spirit, no less active than that with which they had set out, pervaded the whole encampment. In two days more, by proper exertions, every arrangement would be completed for the investment of fort Malden. At the end of that time the heavy cannon might be ready; if they should not, the council recommended an attempt with the bayonet. The British garrison had been weakened by constant desertions of the embodied Canadian militia, and a vigorous attack upon it, however gallant the defence, could not but be attended with ultimate success. The deliberations of the council corresponded with the opinions of the General, and the day was appointed on which the assault was to take place. The cannon were well mounted, and embarked on floating batteries; the ammunition was already placed in wagons provided for its conveyance; the troops were animated by the prospect of a combat, and not at all doubtful of a certain and brilliant victory.

A company of volunteers from Ohio, under command of captain Brush, had arrived at the river Raisin, with a quantity of provisions for the army. Although the troops

were already supplied for many days, these provisions might be necessary in the event of conquest. The distance from Detroit, to the point at which they had arrived, was thirty-six miles, and their march was liable to be intercepted by scouting parties from the enemy. Major Vanhorne was therefore despatched, with 150 men, to meet and escort them to their destination. He had nearly reached Brownstown, on his second day's march, when he was attacked in front, and on both flanks, by a very superior force of regulars and Indians. A warm engagement followed; to the Americans the odds were fearful, but, after an obstinate resistance, they succeeded in making an orderly retreat with the loss of 19 killed and missing, and 9 wounded.—Among the former were captains M'Culloch, Bostler, and Gilcrease, who fought with that gallantry, which has never failed to distinguish the citizens of the state to which they belonged; among the latter was captain Uly, since dead, whose conduct was not less noble than that of his companions.

Major Vanhorne had scarcely been sent from Sandwich, when a change of measures was adopted by the general, in opposition to the wishes and intreaties of all his officers. The enterprise against Malden was abandoned, and he announced his determination of evacuating Canada, and of posting himself at fort Detroit. The promulgation of his intentions, was attended by an order to break up the encampment, and to recross the river in the night. Consternation and dismay were visible in the countenance of every soldier; their confidence was destroyed, and they considered their commander to be timid and irresolute. The presence of their own officers, on whose capabilities they implicitly relied, was scarcely sufficient to prevent one universal burst of indignation. Reluctantly, and with much murmuring, they obeyed the order; and at daybreak of the morning of the 8th, found themselves garrisoned at Detroit. Here the intelligence of the late skirmish was received.

The communication, which had been opened by the army, between Raisin and their present post, was shut up by the savages. It was indispensably necessary that it should be again opened, or the provisions at that river could never reach the garrison, which would eventually be in want of subsistence.



To lieutenant colonel James Miller, the command of a strong detachment was for this purpose assigned. He immediately took up his line of march with 200 regulars, and 200 militia, the regulars being of the fourth regiment. The British Indians, anticipated the return of the detachment which they had driven back, and calculated that it would be largely reinforced. Their own body was therefore increased to a number, competent, as they supposed, to drive off, or perhaps to capture them. They were 700 strong, and might be reinforced during an engagement, from Malden, opposite to which was the village of Brownstown, which they had taken possession of a few days before. They fortified the ground at a place called *Maguaga*, nearly four miles from Brownstown, by felling trees and erecting breastworks. Behind these, they intended to conceal themselves, until the Americans should attain the point, at which they might deal out to them what measure of destruction they pleased. The Indians were commanded by their great leader, *Tecumseh*; the united force by major Muir, of the British army.

On the 9th, the American troops, though they proceeded with great caution, reached the ground on which the enemy desired to see them, before they discovered their ambuscade. Captain Snelling, commanding the advance, was attacked from it, and sustained a combat until the main body came up, when the British and Indians sprang suddenly from behind the works, formed a line of battle with great celerity, and commenced a brisk fire, accompanied with all the demonstrations of savage war. Sudden and unexpected as was the attack, the intrepid commander of the American force was not the least dismayed; his troops received the shock without shrinking; and with a coolness and sagacity, which are commonly looked for only in soldiers of long experience, he as suddenly drew up his men, and after a rapid fire, charged upon the enemy with such unusual firmness, as to throw them into complete disorder. The obstinacy of the Indians, however, would not admit of flight; they were not compelled, by the restraints of regular discipline, to act in concert with the British, and resorting to their own kind of combat, they were resolved not to abandon the contest. But the British had now recovered from their confusion, and a scene of indescribable

horror ensued. Uniting with 500 Indians, who were almost naked, having their bodies painted in a frightful manner, and uttering their usual dreadful shouts, they fought on every side of the American detachment; on every side they were gallantly repulsed. Means like these could not induce these brave men to forsake their standard, or to disgrace their nation. They saw danger strengthening around them, they knew what kind of destiny awaited their defeat, and they were resolutely determined to repel the foe, or to yield only with their lives. Colonel Miller found himself contending against a force, more than one third superior to his own, but he was animated by the same spirit, which influenced his men. Over such men, headed by such a commander, the enemy could not hope to be victorious. The firmness of the Americans had that effect upon the British and Indians, which it was intended their savage noises should produce on them. They found that they had not errors to resort to, which could attain their end, and they began from necessity to give ground. The obstinacy of the detachment, was equal to the determined character of the Indians, and the latter became first intimidated. The united forces were driven, inch by inch, into Brownstown; and would have been beaten into submission, had not a squadron of boats been ready to receive them, at that place. They made as rapid a retreat across the river, as their oarsmen could effect, and returned to Malden with an inferior force, to that with which they had left it. Their loss was, in regulars, 7 killed and wounded; of the Indians they left nearly 100 on the field. In the stout contest, which the detachment kept up for more than two hours, there were 15 killed, and between 30 and 40 wounded. The officers who principally distinguished themselves, were captain Baker, lieutenants Larabee and Peters, and ensign Whistler. The first of these was shot three different times during the battle; the second lost his left arm; and the two last were also wounded. Colonel Miller remained at Brownstown until the meridian of the next day, when he received orders to return to Detroit. The troops were exhausted by so vigorous an engagement, and they would have been unable to proceed further. A fresh detachment would probably be sent upon the same expedition; and colonel Miller, knowing how necessary it



was, that his men should be refreshed, was not averse from this order.

Captain Brush was still waiting at the river Raisin for an escort, when he received orders to remain at that place, and defend himself there, or to proceed by a route, on an upper road, crossing the river Huron. Colonels Cass and M'Arthur were despatched, on the evening of the 14th, with 300 men, to assist in the transportation of the provisions, on that route.

On the same day on which the victory at *Maguaga* was achieved, captain Heald, the commandant at fort *Chicago*, since called fort Dearborn, received orders immediately to abandon that place. Accordingly, on the fifteenth, after delivering to the friendly Indians, in conformity to his instructions, all the goods in the factory, and such provisions as could not be taken away, and destroying the surplus arms and ammunition, he commenced his march with 54 regulars, and 12 militia, the whole amount of his force, and was escorted by captain Wells, of fort Wayne, and a few friendly Indians of the Miami tribe, sent thither for that purpose. As the place would now be defenceless, the inhabitants, principally women and children, were directed to accompany the troops. The little party had not proceeded more than one mile and an half, between a high sand-bank, and the lake, when it was discovered that a number of hostile Indians were preparing to attack them, from behind the bank. Captain Heald immediately ordered his company to ascend it; and they had scarcely done so, when an action commenced, in which, after firing one round, and charging with great velocity, upon the Indians, the latter were obliged to give way in front, but joining the party on the American flanks, they kept up their fire, and got possession of all the horses, provisions and baggage, of every description. The friendly Indians standing aloof, refusing to take part in the contest, and apparently waiting the issue, that they might determine on which side to belong, made it necessary for captain Heald to draw off his few men, and take possession of a small elevation, in an open *prairie*, out of reach of shot, from the bank, or any other cover. Here he received an offer of protection, from an Indian chief, on condition of his surrender:

which, without much reliance on its faith, he accepted, because of the great disparity of force, the Indian warriors amounting to nearly 500. Their loss was about 15. Of the Americans, 16 regulars, and all the militia were killed: among them, captain Wells and ensign George Roman, both officers of great gallantry. Two women, and twelve children were also killed. The Indians had it now in their power, to move to any part of the country, through which the communication had been formed between the river Raisin and Detroit, and numbers of them were accordingly posted at several points on that road, whilst a stronger party proceeded against fort Wayne. Their absence was taken advantage of by captain Heald, whom they had taken to the mouth of St. Joseph's, and who now, with his lady, procured a conveyance to *Michilimackinac*, where he was received politely by the commandant, captain Roberts. Mrs. Heald was wounded by six shot—the captain by two.

Any attempt to accelerate the transportation of the provisions, would now be useless, for on the thirteenth, the British had taken a position opposite Detroit. They were occupied in throwing up breastworks, during that and the two following days; at the end of which time they had completed a battery of two eighteen pounders, and an eight inch howitzer, without any interruption from the American fort. Major Denny, of the volunteers who had been left in garrison at Sandwich, with 250 infantry, and a corps of artillerists, was obliged, on their approach, to make his retreat across the river. This he effected in good order.

On the fifteenth, a flag of truce was received from the British, with a summons, demanding the immediate surrender of the garrison; to which it was returned for answer, that the "town and fort would be defended to the last extremity." The British then opened their batteries upon the town, and continued to throw their shells into the fort, from four o'clock until midnight. The fire was returned until dark with little effect. At daylight the next morning, the firing again commenced, whilst the British, under the protection of their ships, were landing their forces at Spring Wells. At about ten o'clock they proceed-

ed in a close column, twelve in front, along the bank of the river towards the fort.

From fort Detroit the enemy could not have been prevented from landing, had he attempted it, even in its more immediate vicinity. Its situation had been originally chosen without skill; the town actually standing between it and the river, and the foot of the *scarp* being more than two hundred rods from it. On the evening of the fifteenth it was therefore suggested to general Hull, that the British should be opposed on the margin of the river; that there was a position at that point, whence they could be destroyed, with the utmost certainty, as fast as they could land; and that a strong battery, well manned there, would be a better security than the fort of Detroit. The suggestions of general Hull's officers were too often disregarded. The enemy had now landed, and no obstruction could prevent his approach, until he should be either in the rear of the town, or of the fort, when all the strength of the latter might be successfully brought against him. The fourth regiment was stationed within the fort; the Ohio volunteers, and part of the Michigan militia, behind picquets, from which the enemy's whole flank could be annoyed; the residue of the militia were in the town, to resist the Indians; and two twenty-four pounders, loaded with grape shot, were posted on an eminence, from which they could sweep the advancing column. The superiority of position was apparent on the side of the Americans, and their force at least equal to that of the enemy. They had four hundred rounds of twenty-four pound shot, already fixed, and about one hundred thousand cartridges made. Their provisions were sufficient for fifteen days, and every man of them, awaited the approach of the enemy with full and eager expectation of victory. The head of the column had advanced within five hundred yards of the American line, when general Hull ordered the troops to retreat to the fort, and not by any means to open the twenty-four pounders upon the enemy. The feelings of the soldiers were not now to be restrained, as they had been a few days before at Sandwich. Indignation at the conduct, and contempt for the capacity, of the commanding general, could no longer be disguised, and they loud-



ly uttered their discontent. They entered the fort, however, which, though crowded so that any movement was impracticable, was scarcely capable of containing them. Here they were directed to stack their arms, and they had the mortification to see the flag of their country struck to the invaders, and the fort surrendered without the discharge of a single gun. A white flag was suspended from its walls, and such was the astonishment, even of the enemy's troops, that a British officer rode up, to ascertain its meaning. It was the first instance, perhaps, which they had ever known, of the surrender of a military post, without a previous arrangement of the terms; and they had little expectation of so tame a submission. Those brave troops, who had but eight days before beaten, and put this same enemy to flight, were now obliged to march out in review, and lay down their arms to inferior numbers, who had done no other thing towards the capture of the garrison, than showing themselves before it.

Not only the heroes of Brownstown, but the detachments then absent from the fort, the volunteers and all the provisions at Raisin, and those of no inconsiderable amount, the fortified posts and garrisons, and the whole territory and inhabitants of Michigan, were delivered over by capitulation, to the commanding general of the British forces. Forty barrels of powder, two thousand five hundred stand of arms, and an armament, (consisting of twenty-five iron, and eight brass pieces of ordnance) the greater part of which had been captured from the British in the revolutionary war, were surrendered with them.

The detachment which had been sent out under colonels Cass and M'Arthur, had received orders the night before to return; but when they arrived within sight of Detroit, before which the enemy was already stationed, it became necessary to use excessive caution in their nearer approach. They were accidentally thrown into a situation, the best for annoying and cutting off the retreat of the enemy, which could possibly be selected; and if they had heard any firing, or seen any indication of an engagement, they might have attacked the rear of the column, and placed the enemy's raw troops, between



their own fire and that of the fort. They could not imagine what measures were in operation, when an uninterrupted silence prevailed between two hostile armies, within fighting distance of each other; the arrangement for a surrender, was the last among their surmises, because they knew that the garrison was superior to any force which could then be brought against it. Their doubts were relieved by a message from general Hull, to the following effect: "I have signed articles of capitulation for the surrender of this garrison, in which you and your detachment are prisoners of war. Such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army, will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war. Their arms, however, will be given up, if belonging to the public." This despatch was forwarded by colonel M'Arthur, to captain Brush. The volunteers and militia returned to their respective homes; but general Hull, and the fourth regiment, and part of the first, were taken to Montreal, whence they were destined for Quebec. General Brock issued his proclamation, announcing to the inhabitants of Michigan, the cession of that territory to the arms of his Britannic majesty, and establishing regulations for its civil government. The capitulation of an immense territory, and the surrender of the whole northwestern army which was composed of men, feelingly alive to the honour of their country; ambitious of distinguishing themselves in arms; and most of whom had left their families, and their friends, to encounter the fatigues and dangers of a long campaign; excited a sensation among the people, from one extremity of the country to the other, not less indignant, than that which was felt by the troops themselves. When general Brock said, that the force at his disposal authorized him to require the surrender, he must have had a very exalted opinion of the prowess of his own soldiers, or a very mistaken one of the ability of those, who were commanded by the American general. The force at his disposal was inferior to the garrison of Detroit, even in the absence of the detachments. In a letter to sir George Prevost, he states the American force at 2,500—which, however, could not be correct, as it had met with losses in the different skirmishes—and his own at 600 white troops, and 600 In-

dians. By the return of his quarter-master-general, it consisted of, British regulars, infantry and artillery, 382; Indians, principally *Chipaways*, *Hurons*, and *Potawatomies*, 650; Militia, in regular uniform, 362; Total, 1394. Of these, few of the Indians were visible, as they generally skulked in the woods, and did not advance upon the fort with the British column. The force of general Hull's army, by the morning report, was 1060, exclusive of the detachment of 350 men, and 300 Michigan militia, then out on duty, which would have made 1710; superior to the enemy by 516. On the arrival of captain Brush from Raisin, his total force would have amounted to more than 1860.

Had the troops remained at Sandwich until the provisions were brought on, the surrender of this force to a body of troops thus inferior in number, would have been prevented. The British did not appear at that place until they had heard of its evacuation; they were induced to follow up the American army, because of its abrupt departure from the Canadian shore; and it has been matter of conjecture, whether general Hull's conduct was the result of cowardice, or perfidy. In his official despatches to the government, he attempted to defend his conduct, upon grounds, with which they were not satisfied—and which could not be proved before the court martial, by whom, after being exchanged for thirty British prisoners, he was tried.

After an investigation of all the facts, the court declined making a decision on the charge of treason, which was alleged against him, but said, they did not believe, from any thing which had come before them, that he had been guilty of that act. On the second charge, for cowardice—and the third, for neglect of duty and unofficerlike conduct, they condemned him. A sentence of death was passed upon him, but in consideration of his revolutionary services and his advanced age, he was earnestly recommended to the mercy of the President, who remitted the sentence, but directed a general order to be issued, by which his name was struck from the rolls of the army.

Could that genius and enterprise, which distinguished the other officers of the northwestern army, have been imparted to its commander, a more glorious issue to the

American arms, must have been the necessary result. The conduct of the several detachments, and the ample success of each excursion, gave an almost incontestible proof, that a vigorous prosecution of the warfare, would have obtained complete victory. Had the effect of these successes been followed up by a rapid movement of the army itself, and proper advantages been taken of the desertions from the enemy's garrison, the whole country would have been subjugated, or laid open to future expeditions, and the object of the present, would doubtless have been achieved. Weakness and imbecility, however, supplied the place of military talent, and the result was different from that, which was looked for by the army and the nation.



## CHAPTER II.

*Disposition of the Naval Forces—Escape of the Constitution—Letters of Marque and Reprisals—The Atlas engages two armed ships—The Essex captures the Alert—Engagement between the Constitution and Guerriere—Pursuit of the Belvidere—An engagement on the St. Lawrence—Capture of the British brigs Detroit and Caledonia, on Lake Erie—The Wasp captures the Frolic—Both taken by the Poitiers—Loss of the United States schooners Nautilus and Vixen.*

COTEMPORANEOUS with the disaster at Detroit, was a succession of brilliant achievements on the ocean, paralleled perhaps, but never yet surpassed; the intelligence of which entirely dispelled the temporary gloom, which pervaded the minds, and filled with grief, the hearts of the American people. At the commencement of hostilities, such of the United States vessels of war, whose equipments were entire, had orders to proceed immediately to sea. A squadron of three frigates, one brig, and one sloop of war, sailed on the twenty-first of June (1812) from New York, in quest of several of the enemy's frigates, known to be at that time cruising off the entrance to that harbour. On the third of July, the frigate Essex, captain Porter, went to sea from the same port; and the Constitution, captain Hull, sailed from the Chesapeake bay on the twelfth. The brigs Nautilus, Viper, and Vixen, were at the same time cruising off the coast; and the sloop of war Wasp was at sea, on her return from France.

On the morning of the 17th, an English squadron, consisting of the *Africa*, a ship of the line, the frigates *Shannon*, *Guerriere*, *Belvidere*, and *Æolus*, and a brig and schooner, the nearest of the frigates being within gunshot, gave chase to the Constitution. A calm prevailing during the whole day, towing and warping were unremittingly resorted to; but the enemy, by attaching all the



boats of the squadron to two of the frigates, had gained so much upon the Constitution, as to bring their bow guns to bear upon her, though they received several discharges from her stern chasers. The chase continued all night. On the following morning, (18th) at daylight, the Constitution, taking advantage of a fresh breeze which just then sprang up, spread all her canvas, outsailed, and escaped from her pursuers, and arrived at Boston on the evening of the 26th—whence she sailed upon a cruise on the second of August. The chase had continued for sixty hours; the ship's crew were all that time at their stations; and the escape of the frigate from seven sail, two of which were warped up by more than six times the number of men and boats employed by the Constitution, has been considered as an incontestible proof, of the superior skill and seamanship of her commander. The officers of the pursuing ships, one of whom was afterward captured by captain Hull, have spoken of it in terms of the highest admiration.

Congress having authorised the President to issue letters of marque and reprisals, the ocean was very soon covered with private armed ships, from almost every port in the United States. One of the first which sailed, was the schooner Atlas, commanded by captain David Moffet; who, on the third of August, fell in with two armed ships of the enemy, and at 11 A.M. engaged them both. The action commenced by a broadside of musketry from the Atlas, and was continued without intermission until noon, when one of the enemy's ships struck her colours. The whole fire of the Atlas was then brought against the largest ship, when that which had already struck, again opened her broadside. A few shot from the Atlas, however, drove every man from her decks, and compelled her a second time to yield. At 20 minutes P.M. the largest ship struck also, and on taking possession of them, captain Moffet found them to be, the ship Pursuit, of 450 tons, 16 guns, 18's and 9's, and 35 men; and the ship Planter, of 12 guns, 12 pounders, and 15 men. During the action, the Atlas was very much disabled in her rigging, and had 2 men killed and 5 wounded. Among the latter, a seaman of the name of William Curl, who behaved with great coolness, and refused to quit his quarters, though he had received a wound, which

afterwards proved to be mortal. The three vessels were making a port, when a British frigate hove in sight, and recaptured the Planter, but the Atlas, and her largest prize, arrived safely in the Delaware.

On the thirteenth of August, the frigate Essex, which had now been cruising forty days, fell in with the British sloop of war Alert, captain Laugharne, of 20 guns, and 130 men, who immediately ran down upon the frigate's weather quarter, gave three cheers, commenced an action, and after eight minute's firing, struck her colours, with 7 feet water in her hold, her hull cut to pieces, and three of her men wounded. The officers and crew of the Essex, which received not the slightest injury, were highly amused at the boldness of the enemy, who must have calculated on an easy conquest over the American frigate. A few broadsides, however, deliberately fired into the sloop of war, brought down her colours, and after concluding an arrangement with captain Laugharne to that effect, captain Porter dismantled her of her armament, and putting all his prisoners, being about 500, on board, sent her, under the command of one of his officers, lieutenant J. P. Wilmer, as a cartel to St. Johns, in Newfoundland, whence she was instructed to sail for New York, with whatever American prisoners might be given in exchange.

About seventeen days after, late in the afternoon of the 30th, captain Porter discovered, and stood under an easy sail for, one of the enemy's frigates, which was at the same time standing for him. The Essex was cleared, and the crew anxious for an engagement. Being apprehensive that the enemy might not find him in the night, captain Porter hoisted a light at the mast head, and at 9 o'clock discovered a signal of two flashes and a blue light, at about 4 miles distance. The Essex stood on for the point at which this signal was given, until midnight; but not getting a sight of the enemy, she hove too, under an expectation that the hostile ship would do the same, until morning. To the great surprise of captain Porter, and the mortification of his crew, at daylight the enemy was not to be seen.

On the fourth of September, (1812) in attempting to get into New York, the Essex was intercepted and chased by two large ships of war, who gained her wake and came up

with great fleetness; but she escaped from them by manœuvring in the night, having first hoisted American colours, and fired a gun to windward. One of the ships being considerably to windward of the other, and about five miles astern of the *Essex*, it was determined to heave about as soon as it became dark; and in the event of not being able to pass, to fire a broadside into her, and lay her on board. The wind heading the *Essex* off, however, at thirty minutes after eight she bore away, and being cut off from New York, effected her escape into the bay of Delaware, where she arrived on the seventh, without the loss of a man—having made nine captures in addition to the *Alert*. The *Alert* returned from St. Johns, and arrived at New York on the sixteenth of September, with 270 American prisoners.

On the 28th of August, (1812) the *Constitution* returned to Boston, from a cruise commenced upon the second of that month, and signalized by a brilliant and victorious contest with a British ship of war, the commander of which had repeatedly threatened the capture of any one of the American frigates, whom it might be his fortune to encounter. The frigate *Guerriere* had been sailing off the coast, for several months previously to the declaration of war; and had frequently shown herself at the entrances to the different ports, with her name written in large characters upon a flag at one of her mast heads, and at another the words "*not the Little Belt*"—in allusion to an affair which had taken place between a sloop of war of that name, and the United States' frigate *President*; in which the latter ship retorted an assault committed on her, in time of peace, by discharging two broadsides at, and nearly sinking the sloop of war.\* Captain Hull had

\* On the 16th May, the *Little Belt*, commanded by captain Bingham, and mounting 18 guns, was hailed by the *President*, to know what ship she was. The captain of the *Little Belt* repeated the question, without answering it: and commodore Rogers again asked, "What ship is that?" This demand was followed by a shot from the *Little Belt*. The *President* returned it, and received a broadside from her. Commodore Rogers then gave a general order to fire: and having silenced the other, again inquired what ship she was. He now received an answer, which informed him of the character of the vessel: and he lay too, in order to assist her in repairing her damages. [For a particular account of this affair, see Clark's *Naval History of the United States*.]



been informed of the appearance of a single ship of war, to the eastward of the coast, and immediately stood in that direction. Between the second and the nineteenth of August, he made several captures of merchantmen, and recaptured an American brig, which had been taken by the *Avengeur*. On that day, in lat. 41 deg. 42 min. N. and long. 55 deg. 33 min. W. he discovered a large frigate of the enemy, set all sail in chase, and came up with, and captured her, after a spirited engagement of forty-five minutes. She proved to be the frigate *Guerriere*, of 38 guns, but carrying 49, and commanded by captain James R. Dacres. She was discovered at about two P. M. and at four, the *Constitution* was closing fast upon her. At ten minutes past four, the enemy hoisted English colours, and commenced the action by firing several guns. The *Constitution's* fire was reserved, until she could be put in such a position that every shot should take effect; and the sailing master, Aylwin, brought her so skilfully into action, that captain Hull's views were completely accomplished. But the enemy not comprehending them, suspected the Americans of timidity, or of ignorance in the art of gunnery, and discharged his broadsides with an assurance of crippling his antagonist, before he might open his battery. The crew of the *Constitution*, anxiously awaiting the orders of their commander to fire, were themselves filled with surprise at his receiving so many rounds, without yet returning them. Captain Hull, at his station, however, was with great judgment reconnoitring the enemy with his glass; until finding that the ability and excellent seamanship of his sailing-master, brought up the ship to the exact station, upon the enemy's beam, from which he knew he could effectually annoy him, he issued his orders to fire broadside after broadside, with the greatest possible rapidity. His crew, now perfectly entering into a plan, which none but an able seaman could have conceived, executed his commands with as much alacrity as was required; and after fifteen minutes close and constant cannonading, the enemy's mizen mast having gone over his starboard quarter, the *Constitution* was placed upon his larboard bow, in a raking position; from which she swept the decks of the *Guerriere*, with grape and musketry. The enemy's ship became now unmanageable,



and the Constitution prepared to lay her on board. Lieutenant Bush attempted to throw his marines on her deck, when he was killed by a musket ball; and the Guerriere, at the same moment, getting clear of the Constitution, shot ahead; but it being impossible to get her before the wind, she was exposed to every raking fire of her opponent. Her fore and main masts went over the side; her hull was cut almost to pieces; and at twenty minutes past five she surrendered. The execution of the Constitution's fire was dreadfully severe; and the management of the vessel reflected great credit on her officer. Her loss was but 7 killed and 7 wounded. The Guerriere's loss was about 102—in wounded 62, in killed and missing upwards of 40.

The Constitution had some spars, and much of her rigging, shot away; after repairing which, and getting out the prisoners, she set fire to, and blew up the Guerriere, which was in so sinking a condition that she could not be brought into port. Captain Hull spoke in high terms of the crew, from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman. The officers behaved with great gallantry. Among the most conspicuous of them were lieutenants Hoffman, Shubrick, and Morgan. The brave and amiable lieutenant William Bush, the first naval officer who fell in this war, distinguished himself by intrepidly leading on the boarders, when he received the ball which deprived his country of his services. Mr Aylwin, who manœuvred the ship so well throughout the battle, was severely wounded; and on his return to port, was promoted to the rank of a lieutenant. The first officer, lieutenant Morris, was dangerously wounded; his conduct procured for him the applause of the government, and a promotion to the rank of post captain. Captain Hull was received with a degree of joy bordering on enthusiasm, by the citizens of every town through which he passed, on his way to the navy department. Many of the state legislatures voted him their thanks and a sword; the freedom of several cities was presented to him, each in a gold box; and the people of Charleston and Philadelphia subscribed for the purchase of two elegant pieces of plate. The congress of the United States voted him, and his officers and crew, their thanks—and the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

The *Guerriere*, was one of the finest of the largest class of frigates in the British navy; a fact which is certified in a letter to lord Keith from a British officer, captain Thomas Lavie, of the frigate *Blanche*—in which ship, on the 19th of July, 1806, off the Farro islands, after a contest of the same length, (45 minutes) he captured the French frigate *Le Guerriere*, commanded by Monsieur Hubert of the legion of honour. His letter states, "*Le Guerriere is of the largest class of frigates, mounting 50 guns, with a complement of 317 men.*"

The squadron which had sailed on the 21st June, under the command of commodore Rodgers, and which consisted of the *President*, of 44 guns (flag ship); *United States*, 44, captain DECATUR; *Congress*, 36, captain JOHN SMITH; *Hornet*, 16, lieutenant commandant LAWRENCE; and *Argus*, 16, lieutenant commandant SINCLAIR; returned from the cruise, and arrived in Boston harbour on the 31st August, with about 120 English prisoners on board; having been out seventy-two days. These vessels had been off the English channel, along the coast of France, Spain, and Portugal, within 30 miles of the Rock of Lisbon; thence to Madeira island; thence off Coro and Flores; and thence back to the Banks, and by Nova Scotia to Boston. They were, most of this time, in search of the Jamaica fleet; though on the third day out, their attention was diverted, by the appearance of a large sail, which was afterwards known to be the British frigate *Belvidere*, captain Richard Byron, and to which they gave chase. The *President* being a superior sailer to the rest of the squadron, was brought within gun shot of the enemy. The breeze inclining to the westward and becoming lighter, however, the *Belvidere* had the advantage; at 1 P.M. she hoisted English colours. At four, the wind having changed, so that the two vessels sailed nearly alike, commodore Rodgers determined to fire his bow chase guns at the rigging and spars, in the expectation of crippling the enemy, so that her escape would be prevented, or at least that the *President* might be enabled to come up. The fire was returned from the enemy's stern guns, and was kept up on both sides until thirty minutes past four, when one of the *President's* chase guns burst, killed and wounded 16 men—among the latter the commodore, and by the explosion of the passing-

box from which the gun was served with powder, both the main and fore-castle decks in its neighbourhood were much shattered. The helm was then put to starboard, and the discharge of the President's broadside, wounded, and considerably injured, though it did not destroy the spars and rigging of the Belvidere. The President began now to lose ground, no hope was left of bringing the enemy to close action, except that derived from being to windward, and the probability that a breeze might favour the President first, and the commodore ordered her to be steered close after him, and the bow chase guns to be kept playing on his spars, rigging, and stern. At five, the enemy's stern guns annoyed the President so much, that the commodore determined on another broadside, which being discharged, was found to have wounded the fore topsail yard of the Belvidere: after this the pursuit was kept up until 11 P. M. The President gave two more broadsides, but the Belvidere having stove and threw overboard her boats, and every thing which could be possibly spared, and having cut away her anchors and started about fourteen tons of water, outsailed the squadron, and effected her escape. Six men were killed and wounded by the Belvidere's fire, and 16 by the accident on board the President, making in all 22, among whom, besides the commodore, were 5 midshipmen, one lieutenant of marines, and one lieutenant of the ship.

While these events were transpiring on the ocean, several naval affairs took place upon the lakes, more inferior in their magnitude, than in the heroism of the persons concerned in them. On the 30th of July, the brig Julia of one 32 pounder, and two 6's, was fitted out at Sacket's Harbour, with orders to proceed to Ogdensburg. On the 31st, upon entering the St. Lawrence, within sight of Brockville, ten miles from her destination, she discovered the *Earl Moira* of 18 guns, and the *Duke of Gloucester* of 10, lying to. The Julia bore down within three quarters of a mile of them, and came to action. At half past 4 P. M. the enemy opened his fire, and the engagement continued three hours and an half, during which time, numerous attempts were made to board the Julia, by the boats of the *Duke*, but the 32 pounder being well fought, the enemy was obliged to relinquish that plan. Both vessels hauled up under the



land battery, and kept up a heavy fire. At 8 o'clock the Julia proceeded to Ogdensburg, without the loss of a man. The enemy's loss has never been ascertained. In all the engagement, three shot only struck the hull; one went through the jib, and another pierced the gun carriage of the Julia. Her crew were all volunteers; lieutenant H. Wells having the command, Samuel Dixon being sailing master, and captain Benedict being on board with a small company of riflemen, acting as marines.

Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliot, of the United States navy, had been ordered to the Niagara river to superintend the building of the vessels at Black Rock, for the service on Lake Erie. The British brig Detroit of six 6 pound long guns, formerly the United States' brig Adams, which had been taken at the surrender of Detroit, and the brig Caledonia, of two small guns, both well appointed and supplied with blunderbusses, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, boarding pikes and battle axes, came down the lake and anchored under the protection of fort Erie, on the morning of the eighth of October. Lieutenant Elliot planned an expedition against them, which, because there were but few seamen at the station, was to be executed by volunteers from the army. This plan was communicated to general Smyth, who immediately agreed to supply the regulars, to man two boats, to attack and cut out the enemy's vessels. Several companies of artillery and infantry which arrived at the Rock only a few days before, on hearing the proposal for volunteers, stepped forward to a man, and such was the eagerness of all the troops, that it became necessary to resort to lot. Fifty men only were wanted: lieutenant Elliot having heard that the same number of seamen were at a short distance from him on their route to the naval station, and who arrived at 12 o'clock on the morning of that day, and who, though they came off a march of 500 miles, he determined should be also of the expedition. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the selection was completed, and the men stationed in two boats, (fifty in each) commanded by lieutenant Elliot, and sailing master Watts. In the same boat with the former, was lieutenant Isaac Roach, and with the latter, captain N. Townson, both of the artillery, and officers of great merit, who had been fortunate enough to draw the successful lots. About three hours before daylight of the following morn-



ing, the boats put off from the mouth of Buffaloe creek, and in two hours were alongside the vessels.

In ten minutes the crews of each were secured, the top-sails sheeted home, and the vessels under way. The wind not being sufficiently strong to get them up against a rapid current into the lake, they were obliged to run down the Niagara, by the forts, under a strong fire of round, grape, and cannister, from a number of pieces of heavy ordnance and flying artillery. They anchored within 400 yards of the enemy's batteries. The officer commanding these was hailed, and informed that if another gun was fired, the prisoners should be brought on deck and share whatever fate might attend the American crew. This threat was disregarded, but the humanity of the American officers prevented them from executing it, though a constant and destructive fire was kept up from the enemy. The *Caledonia* succeeded in getting under the batteries of Black Rock; but the *Detroit* could not be got across. All her guns were therefore placed upon the side next the enemy, and a fire directed against the batteries, as long as the ammunition lasted. During the contest, several attempts to warp her over to the American shore, were unsuccessfully made. The fire from the batteries was so destructive, that lieutenant Elliot, expecting that she would soon be sunk, if she remained in that situation, determined to drift down the river out of their reach, and prefer making a stand against the flying artillery. The cable was accordingly cut, and the *Detroit* made sail with light airs, but the pilot having abandoned her, she brought up on the Canadian side of Squaw island. The boarding boat was immediately put in readiness, and sent with the prisoners to the American side of the river, with directions to return for lieutenant Elliot, and whatever property could be got out of the brig; the boat, however, could not get back to her. Lieutenant Elliot was, therefore, obliged, with lieutenant Roach and four prisoners, to make the shore in a skiff which they discovered under the counter. Protection was then asked for the brig from lieutenant colonel Scott, of the second regiment of artillery, who immediately despatched a company of that corps, under captain J. N. Barker, with a few pieces, to be stationed opposite the island. A boat from the British shore approached the brig with forty men, who succeeded in getting on board, but the fire of four pieces

of artillery, soon compelled them to abandon her, and she was left in such a condition, that it would be impossible to float her. Captain Talbot Chambers, and part of the fifth United States regiment, afterwards crossed to Squaw island and burnt her, with her valuable cargo of furs. The Caledonia's cargo was estimated at 200,000 dollars. In all these proceedings, the American loss was 3 killed; 3 severely, and 4 or 5 slightly, wounded. Major Cuyler, an officer of great bravery, was killed by the first shot from the enemy's batteries, as he stood on the beach; and midshipman John C. Cummings was wounded in the leg by a bayonet, as he was boarding the Detroit. The regulars were unused to this species of service, but they had entered into it with zeal and alacrity, and their conduct entitled them to the approbation which they received from their officers. Captain Towson and lieutenant Roach were actively engaged during the whole enterprise, and contributed to its success, as much by their counsel, as by their intrepidity. The artillery which was stationed on the shore, when the Detroit was abandoned by the crew, was served with skill and dexterity. The loss of the enemy, by the report of deserters, was about seventy.

The United States sloop of war the Wasp, having returned from France, and refitted, put to sea again from the Delaware, on the 13th October, on a cruise. On the 17th she discovered five sail steering eastward, and as several of them had the appearance of ships of war, she was placed in a situation that she could escape from, or assail them, as circumstances might require. Keeping in the course she had descried them, on the following morning, at daylight, they were seen ahead, and on being made out to be a convoy of six sail, under convoy of a sloop of war, the Wasp gave them immediate chase. The convoy, under a heavy press of sail, all made their escape, and left the sloop of war to contend alone with the Wasp; though four of those, who avoided the conflict, were heavy ships, and mounted 16 and 18 guns. The weather was extremely boisterous, and the sea so rough, that the Wasp's guns had already several times been under water, she nevertheless, prepared for action, and at 32 minutes past 11, came down to windward in handsome style, on the larboard side of the sloop of war, and hailed her within about 60 yards. She was the British

sloop the Frolic, captain Whinyeates, of 22 guns, and at this moment shewed Spanish colours, but upon being hailed she immediately hauled them down, hoisted the English ensign, and commenced a fire of cannon and musketry. The action becoming close, the Wasp received a shot which took away her main topmast, threw it over the fore and fore mainsail braces, and made her head yards unmanageable during the remainder of the action. She was soon after wounded in her gaff and mizen topgallant sail, but kept up, notwithstanding, a close and galling fire as her side was going down with the swell of the sea, and every shot consequently struck the Frolic's hull. The English, as they were accustomed to do, fired as their ship was rising, and therefore, either missed their aim, or struck only the rigging of the Wasp. The Wasp shot ahead, gave a well directed broadside, took a station on the larboard bow of the Frolic, and gradually neared her, until she lay her on board, although while loading another, and the last broadside, the rammers of the guns struck the side of the enemy's vessel. The Frolic had long before slackened her fire, and her jibboom having now entered between the main and mizen rigging of the Wasp, two of the latter's guns were brought through her bow ports, and swept her whole deck. The boarders were immediately called, and such was the anxiety of every man to be the first upon her deck, that several of them were pulled down upon their own ship from the bowsprit of the Frolic. Lieutenant Biddle, who was a supernumerary officer of the Wasp, had mounted the hammock cloth to board, but his feet getting entangled in the rigging of the Frolic's bowsprit, midshipman J. C. Baker, in his enthusiastic ardour, caught the lieutenant by his coat, drew him back upon the Wasp's deck, and was himself the first officer on that of the enemy. Lieutenant Biddle, however, immediately sprang up, ascended the Frolic's bowsprit, and upon getting on her deck, found only a seaman at the wheel and three officers, who threw down their swords and yielded. The Frolic's colours were still flying, and lieutenant Biddle jumping into the rigging, pulled down the English ensign himself. Her birth deck was crowded with dead and wounded, and her main deck slippery with blood: her loss could not be accurately ascertained, as many of the dead had been swept into the sea by the falling of



her rigging, and others were buried under the spars which had fallen on the deck; but by the declaration of her own officers, it could not be less than 30 killed and about 50 wounded. The Wasp lost 5 killed and 5 wounded. Lieutenant Biddle was put on board the Frolic with a prize crew, with orders to make a southern port; but the approach of a British ship of the line, the Poictiers, sir J. P. Beresford, of 74 guns, made it necessary for both ships to make sail for the most convenient. The Frolic was so much damaged, and the Wasp so disabled in her rigging, that the enemy closed upon them fast, fired a shot over, and passed, the Frolic, pursued the Wasp, made capture of both, and ordered them to Bermuda.

Thus terminated a spirited and brilliant contest of 43 minutes, in the capture of an enemy's vessel, 4 guns superior at least, to her antagonist. The conduct of the American officers and seamen showed that they were not to be surpassed in promptitude or courage; to that of lieutenant Biddle and lieutenant Rodgers, first of the ship, and every other commissioned and warrant officer on board, captain Jones has given official testimony.

Lieutenant Booth and Mr. Rapp, and midshipmen Gaunt and Baker, the latter of whom soon after died in Bermuda, behaved with great personal bravery. Lieutenant Claxton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed, went upon deck, and noted the incidents of the engagement with great composure.

When captain Jones returned from Bermuda, he received from his countrymen as many flattering testimonials of their approbation, as they had previously given to captain Hull. The legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and Delaware, of which latter state he was a native, presented him with their thanks, and several elegant swords and pieces of plate. The order of Cincinnati admitted him into the society, as an honorary member, as they had captain Hull; and the congress of the United States voted him, his officers, and crew, 25,000 dollars, in consideration of the loss they had sustained, by not being able to bring in the Frolic.

The next naval action took place on the 25th of October, and terminated in the victory of the United States frigate the *United States*, over the British frigate the *Ma-*



*cedonian*, the command of which, upon her being brought into port, refitted and taken into the service, was given to lieutenant commandant Jones, who, as a further testimony of the high opinion which the executive entertained of his gallant conduct in the capture of the *Frolic*, was now promoted to the rank of post captain. The events of that engagement, in the order of succession, should have been recorded in the present chapter. They will be found, however, in another naval section of this work.

Though the enemy gained no advantages over our forces on the ocean, which could counterbalance the disasters he sustained, by these successive triumphs of the American arms, his superior class of ships made capture of several of our smaller vessels of war. The squadron which had pursued the *Constitution* on the 18th of July, captured a day or two after the United States schooner *Nautilus*, of 12 guns, commanded by lieutenant commandant Crane: and on the 22d of November, (1812) the United States schooner *Vixen*, lieutenant commandant George Washington Reed, of the same number of guns, was captured; after a chase of nine hours and an half, by the British frigate *Southampton*, sir James Lucas Yeo. Though the *Vixen* was commanded by a skilful and scientific seaman, and manned by as gallant a crew as any other American vessel, every effort to escape was found to be fruitless, and she was at length surrendered to a ship, as much superior in sailing as in force. She had not long been captive to the enemy, before both vessels ran ashore, and were immediately wrecked. The frigate's crew became mutinous from intoxication, and the property which was saved from both wrecks, was retrieved by the generous and indefatigable exertions of the American sailors. Captain Reed himself, was as actively engaged in the direction and encouragement of the men, as any of the British officers, and he received the public acknowledgments of sir James, accompanied by an offer of his parole to return home. But such were the noble sentiments by which he was ever actuated, that he would not leave his officers and men, and preferring to remain with them in an unhealthy climate, to which they were taken, he became a victim to an obstinate fever, brought on by the anxieties and fatigues, to which, by his unpleasant situation, and his unremitting attention to the com-

forts of his men, he was necessarily exposed. His interment was attended by the British officers, and a detachment from the garrison, and his funeral obsequies were accompanied by those honours, due to his rank, and not usually withheld from each other by brave and generous enemies.

A splendid triumph seldom fails to excite the general joy, and to call forth the universal admiration of the people. The rapid succession, in which the naval conquests followed each other; the superiority of seamanship and gunnery, which was exhibited in each; and the fact being now well ascertained, that the inexperienced crews of the American navy, could not only sustain a conflict with, but might actually capture, the veteran seamen of the enemy, whenever chance should bring them together, upon equal terms; all contributed to turn the attention of congress to the marine establishment, and the majority of the nation became desirous that measures should be immediately adopted for its enlargement.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### *Hostilities of the Creek Indians—Fight near Davis' Creek; Battle of the Lotchway town.*

INTELLIGENCE of the recent misfortune of the north-western army, of the assault upon the troops from fort *Chicago*, and of the advantages which were consequently expected to follow those events, having been communicated, by early despatches from the tribes on the northern, to those of the *Creek* nation on the southern frontiers, fears were entertained that the result of a council of the chiefs of that nation, which was to be held on the 22d of October, (1812) would be unfavourable to the interests of that department of the union; and that a coalition would be formed between the Indians of the two extremities, which might require all the energies of the government to suppress. To this council of the *Creeks*, their neighbours, the *Chac-*

*taws*, the *Chickasaws*, and the *Cherokees*, were invited, and if the deliberations of such a convention, should be influenced by the elation, evidently produced by the late successes of their northern red brothers, the whole frontier from Tennessee, to the bay of Mobile, and all the settlements between Georgia and the Mississippi, and Tennessee and Florida, would be subject to their depredations. The *Seminoles*, a tribe attached to the *Creek* nation, were already at war with the white people on the borders of East Florida, and had murdered several citizens on the Georgia side of the St. Mary's. The same hatchet which is raised by one of a chain of tribes, linked together by common, or confederated interests, is generally grasped by all. The *Creeks* were not dilatory in following an example, which they at first pretended to restrain, and their outrages surpassed those of any of the northern nations.

The British availing themselves of one of the best harbors in the Gulf of Mexico, sent several of their vessels, laden with the implements of war, to Pensacola. The commandant at St. Marks, a small Spanish settlement between East and West Florida, informed the chiefs that the English would soon be there, with guns, knives, hatchets, and ammunition for the red people, whom they considered to be their friends. These were put into the hands of the Indians, and they commenced their hostilities against all the defenceless inhabitants of Tennessee and Georgia. The presence of an army became now necessary in the south, and the states there, were authorized to call forth as many of the militia, as, in conjunction with the regulars, might be thought competent to quell the associated tribes. The Indians of the *Creek* nation, are not subject to any kind of restraint in war; they will neither give nor receive quarter, and pursue no other mode but that which leads to entire extermination. The force necessary to combat such an enemy, must therefore be extensive, and the executives of the different states, made every exertion, to arm and equip the whole quota of the militia.

The *Seminoles* had been committing depredations of the most daring nature, before they had any intelligence from their northern friends; and uniting to their forces a number of negroes whom they had captured at Florida, they made frequent incursions into the state of Georgia,



murdered many inhabitants, and carried off much valuable plunder. On the night of the 11th of September, about twenty American troops, principally of the marines, under command of captain Williams, of that corps, were marching with two wagons towards Davis' Creek. When within ten miles of their destination, they were attacked by a party of Indians and negroes, of about 50 in number, with whom they contended until every cartridge was expended. Captain Williams, in the course of that time, received eight wounds, and was carried off by two of his men, leaving captain Fort, of the volunteers, to command the troops, and to keep up the contest; but he being also wounded, and finding the strength of the party to be diminishing, retired in the best manner he could, and left the Indians in possession of the wagons and teams. The night was excessively dark, and several of the men, who were wounded, had concealed themselves in the bushes. On the following morning a detachment was sent from a block house a few miles off, to which some of the men had escaped, to examine the ground. They found captain Williams, with his right leg and left arm broken, his left leg shot through with one, and his right arm with three balls, and a wound through the lower part of his body. One man was killed and scalped, and the whole number of wounded amounted to six. The Indians destroyed one wagon, but took the other to carry off their dead and wounded—of whom the number was much greater than that of the marines. Captain Williams languished for three or four days, and expired at Davis' Creek.

On the 24th of the same month, colonel Newnan, of the Georgia volunteers, left *Picolatta*, with about 117 men, for the *Lotchway* towns. On his third day's march, when within seven miles of the first of those towns, he was met by a body of about 150 Indians, all of whom were mounted. This meeting was very unexpected to the Indians; but they immediately dismounted, formed a line of battle, and marched a few paces in advance. This movement was intended to intimidate the Georgians; but colonel Newnan gave orders for the charge, and determined to put an end to the encounter, by entirely subduing the Indians, or putting them to flight. The battle ground was situated midst a number of swamps,



which bounded three of its sides. The Indians remained firm until the Georgians had advanced within fifty paces of their line, when they fled to these swamps for safety. The whole of the musketry being fired at them with precision, made great execution, and among others, killed their leader, *King Paine*. His tribe, on hearing of his fall, were resolved on rescuing his body from their enemy; and returned to the action for that purpose. Several charges were now made, and the Indians constantly driven back, until at length, they resolved on one desperate effort, and recovering all their strength and spirits, made a push against the Georgians, which, though it was received with steadiness, could not be resisted with much vigour. The Indians obtained the body of king Paine, gave up the conflict, which had now lasted upwards of four hours, and carried off their killed and wounded, supposed to be between 20 and 30. In the course of the day, the Indians were reinforced from their towns, by other Indians and negroes; and renewed the action, which they kept up with the greatest obstinacy, until the volunteers compelled them again to retreat. Their force in the second attack, was upwards of 200, but they were repulsed with nearly the same loss as in the first; whilst the volunteers' loss, in both, was but 1 killed, and 9 wounded.

Colonel Newnan's situation, was becoming extremely hazardous; the enemy's numbers were hourly increasing, and they began to surround him on all sides; he therefore threw up a small breastwork, from which he was determined to defend himself until his troops should be reinforced also. He had already despatched expresses, to procure additional numbers. His wounded men rendered him unable to retreat or to advance; and he repelled every assault which was made upon this little work, until the 4th day of October. The Indians were continually harassing him, day and night; and finding they could make no impression on his fortification, they glutted their insatiable vengeance, by shooting all his horses. On the 4th, a perfect silence prevailed within colonel Newnan's camp, and the Indians suspected from that, and the circumstance of their fire not having been returned the day preceding, that he had deserted it in the night. Under this assurance, they approached the works,

without any thought of opposition, until they were within forty paces of them, when the Georgian troops suddenly showed themselves, compelled the Indians to retreat with precipitation, and after several rapid discharges of musketry, killed and wounded about 30 warriors more. They then decamped, without being molested, and were stationed about 10 miles off, on the *Picolatta* road, where they were obliged to await the arrival of fresh horses and provisions. In his account of this affair, colonel Newnan gives great credit to every volunteer of his detachment; and their intrepid conduct, as well as his judicious arrangements, served to give a check to the combined red and black warriors, which promised security, to the neighbourhood at least, until larger forces should be organized. Besides the loss of *King Paine*, the Indians had three of the principal chiefs and their young governor slain; and *Bow-legs*, their second in command, severely wounded.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*Organization of the Northwestern Army—Its disposition—Command given to General Harrison—Defence of Fort Harrison—Siege of Fort Wayne—Expedition against the Indian towns.*

IMMEDIATELY after the surrender of the garrisons at *Michilimackinac*, *Chicago*, and *Detroit*, measures were adopted for the organization and equipment of a new army. An offer had been made to receive volunteers into the service, from the states and territories in the neighbourhood of *Michigan*; and they came forward with an alacrity which made it unnecessary to hold out allurements. The recovery of the surrendered territory, and the re-establishment of its former civil government, were the strong motives, which induced all the brave, and patriotic men, in its vicinity, to take up arms, and march against the invaders. The inhabitants of that territory, were now governed by an authority, too rigorous to

be compatible with those notions of liberty inspired by the genius of their own constitution, and they were awaiting the expected succour from their friends, with the deepest anxiety.

The new army was in readiness almost instantly, the different corps concentrated with unprecedented celerity, and by the early part of September, (1812,) their disposition was completed. Two thousand Pennsylvania volunteers, under brigadier general Crooks, left Pittsburgh for the shores of lake Erie; general Tupper's brigade of Ohio volunteers, was to retrace the road which had been formed by the first army, from Urbanna to the Rapids; and a brigade of Virginians, when they should arrive, under general Leftwich, was to pursue the same route. General Payne's brigade of Kentucky volunteers, the first of the present army which was in readiness, and the 17th United States' regiment, under colonel Wells, were to proceed to fort Wayne, and descend to the Rapids, of the Miami of the lakes, which place was assigned for the general rendezvous.

The command of the second northwestern army was given by the unanimous wishes of the troops composing it, to general W. H. Harrison; the immediate command of the Kentucky troops under general Payne, devolved on him, by his being breveted a major general by the governor of that state.

Forts Harrison and Wayne were at this time garrisoned only by a few regulars and volunteers; numerous British and Indian forces, had already marched from Malden, to lay waste the Ohio frontier, and the latter post would naturally be their leading point. General Harrison therefore immediately marched to its relief, with Payne's brigade and the regulars. The former post (fort Harrison) was invested on the 3d of September, by the Prophet's party from the Wabash. On the night of the 4th, they set fire to one of the block-houses, containing the contractor's property, and followed up that act, by a resolute attack upon the fort. The garrison was commanded by captain Z. Taylor, of the 7th U. S. infantry, and consisted of only 18 effective men. The flames were raging—the Indians, about 300 in number, howling in their usual horrid manner, and the women and children



of the barracks, looking up to captain Taylor, and imploring from him that protection, which they could scarcely expect to receive. When the block-house should be entirely consumed, a large entrance would be open to the enemy; no efforts had yet succeeded to extinguish the fire, its ascendancy baffled every attempt, and the men themselves began to despond. Two of the stoutest jumped over the picquets, with the hope of escaping in the dark; but one of them was cut to pieces, and scalped, and the other returned with his arm broken, and implored to be re-admitted into the fort. Under these discouraging circumstances, captain Taylor never suffered his presence of mind to forsake him; and applying the only resource now left him, he ordered a small party to dislodge the roof of the house, so that it might fall in the space, whilst a few men in another house, were to keep up a continual fire upon the Indians. His plan succeeded—the men became confident in their exertions, and a breastwork was formed under a heavy shower of bullets, along the cavity which the destruction of the block-house produced. A desperate defence was now made, and a constant and rapid fire kept up until 6 o'clock in the morning of the 5th. Several furious assaults had been repulsed; and the Indians, at the approach of day, judging the number of the garrison to be greater than it actually was, retired with a quantity of captured cattle, after having shot all the horses belonging to the fort. Doctor Clarke was the most indefatigable man in the engagement, and captain Taylor's good conduct was so highly applauded, that the president soon after promoted him to a majority. Two men only were killed, with the exception of the deserter, and one wounded. The Indians always carry off their dead, unless their numbers are too small; and their loss is seldom ascertained without great difficulty. All the provisions were consumed by the fire, and the garrison compelled to subsist on green corn, until reinforcements should come on with supplies. The little band, which was now reduced to 14 men, repaired the damages sustained by the fort, and constructed a strong fortification across the space. The bastions were all put in the best state of defence, and every precaution adopted to sustain a second assault. To the great joy of the garrison, however, colonel William Russel arrived

about the 16th, from Illinois, with 600 mounted rangers, and 500 infantry; and fort Harrison became sufficiently manned, to resist the attack of a much larger body of the Prophet's warriors.

The situation of fort Wayne was now more critical, than that of any other fortress in the west. The Indians, who had proceeded from the battle ground of *Chicago*, were afterwards reinforced by those from Malden, and they laid siege to this fortress in very large numbers. The troops in garrison, amounted to seventy. On the night of the 5th of September, the Indians commenced an attack; they fired principally upon the sentinels, but did no injury. On the 6th, several of the men went out of the south gate of the fort, but had not proceeded more than seventy paces, when two of them were killed, and by the exertions of their companions, their bodies were carried into the fort, to protect them against savage indignities. During the night another attack was made by the whole force of the Indians, and when they approached the fort, it was confidently expected they would scale the works; but the incessant fire of the garrison compelled them to abandon their design. What they could not do by force, they then attempted by stratagem. Resort was had to all kinds of artifice, and they at length brought up two wooden pieces, which they had contrived in imitation of cannon, to persuade the garrison, that the British had supplied them with battering pieces, to reduce the place. These were brought up, and one of their chiefs threatened to batter down the walls, unless the troops would immediately capitulate; or to storm them on the following day, when they would be reinforced by 700 other warriors. In three days they menaced an entire massacre; but the troops in fort Wayne, still hoping that it would be relieved by the arrival of the expected volunteers, resolved to hold out, until every article of provision should be exhausted. No other attempts were made upon the fort, until the 9th, when a firing was commenced, and continued at intervals all day, but without doing any damage. On the succeeding day, they began their war whoop, renewed their fire, and were again unsuccessful. Not a man was killed in any of their attacks; the only wounds which they inflicted, being upon

those, who ventured without the fort. On the evening of the 12th, general Harrison's forces reached the garrison, and the whole Indian body precipitately fled. On the arrival of the troops at that place, *Logan*, (who will be spoken of hereafter,) went forward with about 700 men, raised an Indian yell, and pursued the retreating tribes. This signal was answered by them, at the distance of only 150 yards; but the intervention of the river, and several other obstacles, prevented the pursuit being attended with effect.

The depredations which they had committed about the fort, were as inhuman as they were extensive. All the stock upon the neighbouring farms was destroyed; the corn, all the small grain, and every house burned; and all the horses and cattle killed. The Indian agent, Stephen Johnson, was murdered, and his body treated with shocking indecency; and every act, indicative of savage vengeance was committed.

The approach of the regulars and volunteers, prevented, perhaps, the destruction of the fields at a greater distance, and secured a supply of Indian corn for the garrison. But the great augmentation of the troops, made it necessary to obtain supplies of other provisions, from the towns of those tribes, which had been so active in destroying what the farms might have afforded. It was now high time, too, to make the Indians feel those effects of the war, which their repeated cruelties had provoked; and to convince them, that the American troops were not so contemptible and degraded, as they, the Indians, might conclude them to be from the surrender of the late commander in chief, on the same station. General Harrison, therefore, divided his forces into scouting parties, under command of his most active officers. Several expeditions were sent forward, against the Indian settlements, and some expectations entertained, that they might be drawn into battle. But they did not betray the same willingness to combat these corps, which they had heretofore shown to encounter others. The Kentuckians were held in great dread, by most of the Indian warriors, and the expression of "*Kentuc too much*," has not unfrequently accompanied their orders to retreat.

On the 14th September, general Harrison despatched



colonel Wells, with his own, and colonel Scott's regiments, and 200 mounted riflemen, with instructions to proceed up the river St. Joseph, which, with the St. Mary's forms the Miami of the Lakes, and to destroy the *Potawatomie* towns at Elk Hart. Another detachment, consisting of colonels Allen and Lewis' regiments, and captain Garrard's troop, under command of general Payne, but which the commander in chief accompanied, proceeded on the same day to the destruction of the Miami towns, on the forks of the Wabash. The object of each expedition was accomplished without opposition, the Indians of those tribes having abandoned their villages, and the different detachments returned to the fort on the 18th.

General Winchester, of the United States army, arrived at fort Wayne, immediately after the expedition against the Indian villages, and the command of the detachments under general Payne and colonel Wells, was resigned to him, in obedience to the orders of the war department. The volunteers, who had centred all their affections in the person of the commander of their choice, were not satisfied with this change, until general Harrison reminded them of the revolutionary services of his successor, and communicated to them the instructions from the department, confirming him in the command of all the troops, but those which were assigned to general Winchester.

The strength of this army was continually augmenting. Volunteer associations, to a greater number than it was politic to receive into the service, were in the same day, formed, equipped, and ready to march against the enemy, and a selection was made from among them, of such a force as was at that time required, in conjunction with the troops which had already marched, to make the army complete. But such was the patriotic impetuosity of the western people, that many of the corps who were not fortunate enough to be received, immediately provided themselves at their own expense, and insisted upon accompanying their fellow citizens to the field.

The siege of fort Wayne having been raised by the Indians, it now entered into the views of the two generals to march forces to the relief of the intermediate garrisons between that place and Detroit, against which an

ultimate movement was to be made; the leading object of the expedition being to regain the ground which had been lost, and to retrieve the late disaster, not only by repossessing that fortress, but by the capture of Malden, and all the great rallying points of the northern Indians. Through the exertions of the indefatigable governor of Ohio,\* every necessary supply was forwarded with the greatest possible despatch, and general Winchester therefore advanced to fort Defiance, whilst general Harrison fixed his head quarters at St. Mary's, distant from the former post, 60 miles. The troops destined for fort Defiance amounted to about 2000. On the 22d of September, (1812) they marched cautiously in three divisions, the baggage being in the centre, and a company of spies, under captain Ballard, protected by Garrard's troop of dragoons, about one or two miles in front. As it was necessary to guard against surprise from a watchful enemy, whose principle it is to assault his foe whilst sleeping, they encamped each day at three o'clock, and threw up breastworks around the tents, at the distance of about twenty paces. On the fourth day's march, ensign Ligett of the regulars, and four of the volunteers, proposed, and were permitted, to go forward and discover the strength and situation of the enemy at Defiance, which was then distant about 25 miles. But their enterprise, which was too hazardous for any but experienced men, entirely failed. These adventurous young men were assailed on the night of the 25th, and though they defended themselves until their strength was exhausted, were overpowered, killed, tom-hawked, and scalped in the usual barbarous manner of the Indians.

\* His excellency Return J. Meigs, the present postmaster general of the United States, whose active zeal in the service of his country, was manifested in his administration of the civil affairs of the state over which he presided, before and after the commencement of hostilities. When the invasion of Ohio was threatened by general Brock, after he had taken possession of Michigan, governor Meigs, with incessant diligence, highly honourable to his patriotism, equipped, provided, and organized one army after another, until the safety of the state was secured; and the mass of the inhabitants of that devoted territory, fled to him for protection. Several members of his own family were among the volunteers, and one of his brothers, was one of the three men killed at the siege of fort Wayne.

On the 27th, captain Ballard, who was distinguished in that army for his courage and prudence, was ordered to go out with his company of spies, supported by forty of Garrard's dragoons, and bury the bodies of the young men, whose fate was now ascertained in camp. When within about two miles of the spot where they had fallen, Ballard discovered an Indian ambuscade; but as he had marched his men in two divisions, placing one on each side of an Indian trace, through which the enemy supposed the volunteers would advance, the ambuscade became useless, and the Indians succeeded in gaining an eminence: whilst they were forming, captain Ballard gave them a galling fire, which they immediately returned, accompanied by a loud and terrific yell. Ballard ordered up the horse, and charged upon, and put them to the rout. Pursuit was given, but the enemy knew the country better than the dragoons, and escaped into the swamps and thickets, with the loss of 4 or 5 wounded. No injury of consequence enough to name was sustained by the volunteers.

On the 28th, Ballard's spies were again sent forward, and discovered a fresh trail of Indians. On communicating which to the general, he ordered 20 troopers to cross the river, to ascertain whether the wagons could pass, and on finding a tolerable ford, the whole army crossed about five miles above fort Defiance, and encamped on its bank. At 100 yards from the edge of the river, another trail was discovered, when captain Garrard was despatched, with 20 of his troop, to proceed and ascertain by whom it was made. Three miles below general Winchester's encampment, and two miles above fort Defiance, the enemy were observed to be encamped in large numbers, with war poles erected, and the bloody flag flying. When the army commenced its march from fort Wayne, the troops were provided with six day's rations only; but colonel Jennings's regiment was to meet them with provisions at fort Defiance. At a certain point on the *Aux Glaize*, the colonel was directed to halt, and erect a block house, which having done, he ascertained by his spies, that the British and Indians were encamped near the fort, and without reinforcements it would have been imprudent to have proceeded further. Late on the night of the 29th, he therefore forwarded an express to general



Winchester, to make known his situation, 40 miles above fort Defiance; and as the troops were now nearly starving, captain Garrard proceeded with great despatch to colonel Jennings's regiment, to escort, with his dragoons, a brigade of packhorses with provisions for their relief, and effected a hazardous tour in 36 hours, though all that time drenched with incessant rain.

General Winchester seeing that his force was far inferior to that of the newly discovered enemy, and finding himself in their immediate vicinity, despatched expresses to general Harrison at the St. Mary's, to obtain reinforcements, and to apprise him of the situation of the left wing. Expecting the required relief in a few days, he put his encampment in a state of defence, by fortifying himself on the front and sides, and kept out reconnoitring parties, who were to communicate with him, the moment the enemy should come out to attack him. On the other hand, the enemy had possession of fort Defiance, and were repairing and enlarging its armament.

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## CHAPTER V.

*The British evacuate Fort Defiance—Death of Logan—Battle on the Mississinewa—The left wing of the army moves from Fort Defiance to the Rapids—Excursion of the Kentucky brigade into Indiana.*

GENERAL HARRISON, on receiving general Winchester's despatch, immediately began his march with general Tupper's mounted men, and arrived at the encampment near Defiance, when he moved forward with the whole force to attack that fort. But the British and Indians had evacuated it, as soon as they heard of his approach, and taking away the cannon with which they had increased the armament, proceeded down the Miami to the Rapids. The mounted men were ordered to pursue the retreating enemy, and to destroy their encampment at that place; and general Harrison left fort Defiance, on the 5th, (October) to join the right wing of the army, and to con-

concentrate the whole at the appointed rendezvous, at the Miami of the Lakes. After his departure, general Winchester countermanded the order to general Tupper, and the expedition against the Indians at the Rapids, was consequently frustrated. Until the contemplated concentration could be effected, no movement could be made which would promote the ultimate object of the campaign, and the troops at fort Defiance, which now assumed the name of fort Winchester, remained in that garrison until the 14th of December (1812).

In this interval, *Logan*, with about 30 friendly Indians, attempted to examine the movements and situation of the enemy on the Miami, where his party was discovered and dispersed. *Logan* and 6 of them returned, the remainder escaped in another direction.

On the 22d of November, he was again ordered by general Winchester, to take two Indians (*Bright-Horn* and *Capt John*), and go forward to make discoveries. Early in the day, they were met and captured by captain Elliot, son of the British colonel of that name, and the celebrated hostile chief, *Wynemack*, and a party of 4 Indians. *Logan* resorted to a stratagem, by which he persuaded *Wynemack*, that he had come to join him, and he and his two men, were therefore, allowed to carry their arms and march in front. *Logan* having communicated to his comrades his determination to rescue himself or perish in the effort, they suddenly turned upon their enemy on the first opportunity, and each brought his man to the ground; *Wynemack* being among them. The remaining three fired in return, shot *Logan* and *Bright-Horn*, the former in the breast, and immediately retired. *Logan* exchanged the shot, notwithstanding the severity of his wound, and both he and *Bright-Horn*, mounted the horses of *Wynemack* and Elliot, (whilst *Capt John* protected their retreat,) and returned to fort Winchester. On the 28th, *Logan* died with the firmness of a soldier, sincerely regretted by the whole garrison, in the vicinity of which he was buried with every mark of distinction.

At Franklinton, general Harrison was actively employed in forwarding ammunition, pieces of ordnance, ordnance stores, provisions, &c. and arranging depots for their reception, on the road designated for the march of the right wing of the army. On the 18th of November,

he sent lieut. col. J. B. Campbell with a detachment of 600 men, on an expedition against the Indians of the *Miami* tribes, residing in the *Mississinewa* towns. On the morning of the 17th December, the detachment charged on the first of those towns, drove the Indians across the *Mississinewa* river, killed 7 warriors, and took 37 prisoners. During this contest a part of the detachment was sent to the other towns, which being already evacuated by the inhabitants, were immediately destroyed, and the detachment returned to the ground first occupied. On the morning of the 18th, at daylight, the camp was attacked by a number of Indians, of the *Miami* and *Delaware* tribes, amounting to about 300. The attack commenced on the right of the line, which was occupied by major Ball's squadron of horse, who gallantly contended against them for one hour, and sustained almost the whole conflict. The Indians then fell back, and were courageously charged by captain Trotter at the head of his company of Kentucky dragoons. In this charge captain Trotter was wounded in the hand: the Indians fled with great velocity, and were pursued as far as was thought prudent. Captain Pierce, of the Zanesville troop, was killed in the act of charging. Lieutenant Waltz was shot through the arm, but being resolved on losing no share of honour, he remounted his horse, and in that act was killed by a shot through the head. He was of the Pennsylvania volunteers. Captains Markle and M'Clelland of the same corps, and captains Garrard and Hopkins were complimented by the commanding general. Lieutenant colonel Simmerall, major M'Dowell, and captains Hite and Smith, are said to have gallantly distinguished themselves; and the whole detachment, after exhibiting throughout a great degree of patience, fortitude and coolness, rendered the victory more honourable to the American arms, by respecting the high and inestimable principles of humanity, and rendering them, as they ever ought to be, inseparable from bravery. The general's orders, on their departure, were to that effect, and the most rigid obedience was paid to them. The battle being ended, and the object of the expedition completely accomplished, colonel Campbell commenced his march for Greenville on his return, having first forwarded an express for reinforcements, *Tecumseh* being reported to be in the neighbourhood with 500 warriors,



and the name of *Tecumseh* had now become terrible. If the detachment should be intercepted, an obstinate engagement must follow, and by the morning report of the 24th, 303 of the men were rendered unfit for duty, by being frost-bitten; an attack from a superior body of Indians could not therefore be sustained with any prospect of success. The detachment reached Greenville, however, without being once molested, and the citizens received the troops with marks of admiration and gratitude. In the destruction of the first town, the American loss was 1 killed and 1 wounded. In the action of the following morning, 8 were killed and 25 wounded—the Indian loss in killed was known to be 40; the number of wounded could not be ascertained. The prisoners were brought away by the detachment. Much astonishment was expressed that the Indians did not attack the detachment in its retrograde movement, but this circumstance may be attributed to the loss of their prophet, who it is supposed, was killed in the second engagement.

Notwithstanding the season was already so far advanced, and the difficulties in marching against the enemy every day increasing, general Harrison was too steadily determined on the recovery of Michigan, and the subjugation of Malden and the country surrounding it, to be put aside from his views by any such obstacles. Every implement was provided which might possibly be necessary; the military stores and trains of artillery were already at the different depots, and the troops from Pennsylvania being at Mansfield, those from Virginia at Delaware, and those from Ohio at fort M'Arthur, the purposed concentration could be almost immediately effected.—General Winchester with the left wing, moved from fort Winchester to the Rapids, in conformity to the previous order of general Harrison, who was now commissioned a major general in the army of the United States, and appointed to the command of the northwestern army. A line of posts was to be established, and strong fortifications erected, as intermediate places of rendezvous, at equal distances between Defiance and Detroit: and, that he might with more convenience superintend the building of these, the commander in chief fixed his head quarters at Upper Sandusky.

A brigade of Kentuckians had been sent into the In-

diana territory, under general Samuel Hopkins, with instructions to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and then to fall upon the Illinois. On the 11th November they marched from fort Harrison, with a view to the destruction of the Prophet's town. Seven boats, with provisions, forage and military stores, commanded by colonel Barbour, accompanied the expedition, and the troops marched, on the east side of the Wabash, to protect them, until the 19th, when they reached the town, and were engaged three days in the destruction of it, and a large *Kickapoo* village adjoining, while general Butler with 300 men, surrounded and destroyed the *Wynebago* town on the *Ponce-passu* creek; each of these towns had been abandoned by the Indian warriors, and a small party was sent out to reconnoitre the surrounding woods, and to seek out their hiding places. Several Indians showed themselves, fired on the party, killed one man, and compelled the others to retire. This occurrence was no sooner made known to the troops, than 60 horsemen offered to proceed to the ground, to bury their companion, and to encounter the enemy. When they attained the point, near the Indian encampment, they were fired upon from an ambuscade, and 18 of the party killed and wounded; among them, several promising young officers. The enemy had taken possession of a strong defensive position, in which there was no hope of effectually assailing him, having a deep rapid creek, in its rear, in the form of a semicircle, and being fronted by a high and almost perpendicular bluff, of 100 feet, which could only be penetrated by three steep ravines. The death of these gallant young men, excited a spirit of revenge among the troops, and they moved forward under a heavy fall of snow, determined to attack the enemy in his stronghold, at every risk. But on arriving at the place, they found that the Indians had evacuated it, and crossed over *Ponce-passu* on their retreat. There being now no certain point to which the operations of the troops could be directed, general Hopkins gave orders for their return to fort Harrison, where they arrived after an absence of 16 days, having in that time traversed 100 miles of a country, of which, to use the words of their commander, they had no cognizance.

## CHAPTER VI.

*American forces on the Niagara and St. Lawrence—An affair upon the latter—Expedition against Gananoque—Bombardment of Ogdensburg—Attack upon it—Disposition of the forces on the Niagara—Description of Queenstown—Battle of Queenstown Heights—Death of General Brock—Defeat of the American forces—Cannonade between Fort George and Fort Niagara—An affair below Ogdensburg—Pike's incursion into Canada—Bombardment of Fort Niagara—Capture of the enemy's baggage at St. Regis—General Smyth's proclamation—The British batteries opposite Black Rock stormed and carried—Abandoned by the Americans, they open a fire on the battery at the Rock.*

WHILST these events were transpiring in the western department of the union, dispositions had been made, and troops collected at the different stations along the Niagara river; from the lake Erie to the lake Ontario; and beyond the latter, along the shore of the St. Lawrence. Excursions from the American to the British shores of the rivers, had been frequently made, and on some occasions, were followed by smart skirmishes.—The chief command of these forces was given to major general Dearborn. The immediate command of the troops on the Niagara, to major general Van Rensselaer, of the militia of the state of New York. Brigadier general Smyth was stationed at Black Rock. The troops on the St. Lawrence were principally garrisoned at Ogdensburg, and commanded by brigadier general Brown, also of the New York militia.

On the 15th of September (1812), 25 British boats passed Madrid up the St. Lawrence, laden with military stores and munitions of war. About 140 of the militia from Ogdensburg and Hamilton, with one gun boat, posted



themselves on an island to obstruct their passage. The enemy approaching the head of the river, brought himself immediately in front of this island, when a rapid and well directed fire made him ply for the opposite shore, where he took shelter in the woods. The militia had no small boats to pursue the flying squadron, and the British had time to rally, to procure assistance, and to return to a contest. This they did, with little delay, and after an action of three hours, they were reinforced by two gun boats and a large body of men from Prescott. The militia being then outnumbered, their ammunition nearly exhausted, and their loss 1 man killed and 2 wounded, abandoned the enterprise, and returned to their respective quarters. The injury sustained by the enemy has never been known.

Captain Forsythe, of the rifle regiment, being at the garrison of Ogdensburg, projected an expedition against a small village in the town of Leeds, in Canada, called *Gananogue*. In this village was the king's store house, containing immense quantities of arms and ammunition, and captain Forsythe was resolved on its destruction. In the night of the 20th September, therefore, a number of boats being provided, he embarked with 70 of his own men, and 34 militia men. Before daylight of the 21st, they reached the Canadian shore, and landed, unobserved, at a little distance from the village. The enemy soon after discovered them, and they were fired on by a party of 125 regulars and militia. Forsythe drew up his men, and returned their fire with such effect, that the British retreated in disorder, and were pursued to the village, where they rallied, and resolved on making a stand, and disputing the passage of a bridge. An action took place here, which resulted in the same manner as the former. The enemy again fled, making his escape over the bridge, and leaving 10 of his number killed, 8 regulars and several militia men prisoners, and the village and store house in possession of the American party. Captain Forsythe lost 1 in killed and 1 wounded. After releasing the militia prisoners on their parole, and taking out a quantity of arms, fixed ammunition, powder, flints, and other articles of public property, and setting fire to the store house, he returned to Cape Vincent with these, and the eight regular prisoners.

In retaliation for this daring exploit, the enemy determined on attacking and destroying the town of Ogdensburg. Opposite to this is situated the Canadian village of Prescott, before which the British had a strong line of breastworks. On the 2d of October they opened a heavy cannonading on the town from their batteries, and continued to bombard it with little intermission until the night of the 3d: one or two buildings only were injured. On Sunday, the 4th, having prepared 40 boats, with from 10 to 15 armed men in each, they advanced with six pieces of artillery, to storm the town. General Brown commanded at Ogdensburg in person, and when the enemy had advanced within a short distance, he ordered his troops to open a warm fire upon them. The British, nevertheless, steadily approached the shore, and kept up their fire for two hours; during which, they sustained the galling fire of the Americans, until one of their boats was taken, and two others so shattered, that their crews were obliged to abandon them; they then relinquished the assault, and fled to Prescott.

The success of the detachment, which had proceeded against the brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, on the 9th October, excited a strong spirit of enterprise among the troops at the different stations along the Niagara. The whole number under the command of general Van Rensselaer, amounted, as it is said, to 5800, and were disposed of in the following manner: 2900, with which he was himself stationed, at and near Lewistown; 1300 regulars, including a detachment of the 2d artillery, commanded by lieutenant colonel Scott, under general Smyth, near Black Rock, distant from Lewistown, 28 miles; 500 militia and volunteers, at Black Rock and Schlosser; six companies of field and light artillery (300), and about 500 of the 6th and 13th regiments, and 300 of the 23d, under major Mullany, at the fort Niagara.

The general was pressed from all quarters to give the troops an opportunity of distinguishing themselves; and his own opinion was, that the crisis of the campaign was rapidly advancing, and, as he informed the commander in chief, "*That the blow must be soon struck, or the toil and expense of the campaign go for nothing; for the whole will be tinged with dishonour.*"

Under these circumstances, and influenced by these impressions, he ordered the regulars, under lieutenant colonel Fenwick and major Mullany, to leave fort Niagara, and proceed to his head quarters at Lewistown. The same orders were issued to general Smyth's brigade. When the British general Brock had made arrangements for the civil government of Michigan, and had appointed such officers as he thought necessary to its administration, he transferred the command of Detroit to colonel Proctor, and moved his own quarters to fort George, that he might facilitate the preparations on the Niagara frontier. But general Van Rensselaer received intelligence, which was thought to warrant a movement into Canada, and was at the same time informed, that general Brock had returned to Detroit (upon hearing of the preparations in the west, for the recovery of that post), and had taken with him such troops as could with safety be spared from fort Erie and fort George. He therefore promised his army, that they should cross over and act against Queenstown; and it was for this purpose that the regulars were ordered from fort Niagara and the Rock. The possession of Queenstown was important to the success of the American arms in Canada, in this, or in any future campaign. It is a handsome town, below the falls of Niagara, at the head of the navigable waters of that strait, and immediately opposite Lewistown; a place of depot for the merchandise for all the country above, and for the public stores, and the line of posts along the Niagara and Detroit rivers. It has an excellent harbour, and good anchorage; the banks on both sides are elevated, and the landscape is among the most splendid and sublime.

It was intended, that the attack on Queenstown should be made in the morning of the 11th October, at 3 o'clock, and the embarkation was to take place from the old ferry, opposite the heights, to which situation, experienced boatmen were employed to navigate the boats, from the landing below. The river here is one sheet of violent eddies, and an officer who was considered to be the most skilful for such a service, was sent ahead; but in the extreme darkness of the night passed the intended point of embarkation, far up the river, and very unaccountably, fastened his boat containing nearly all the oars of the other boats, to the shore, and abandoned the detachment.



The ardour of the officers and men was not the least abated through the night, though they were exposed to a tremendous northeast storm, which prevailed for twenty-eight hours, and in that time deluged the whole camp. But they were mortified by this distressing dilemma, and the appearance of daylight having extinguished every prospect of success, the detachments returned to camp, and an express was sent to Black Rock, to countermand the orders to general Smyth. The miscarriage of the plan had no other effect than to increase the ardour of the troops, and they impatiently awaited the arrival of orders, which would bring them into personal opposition with the enemy. Arrangements were therefore made to that effect, and the night of the 12th was designated for the operation. Two columns, one of 300 militia, under colonel Van Rensselaer, and another of 300 regulars, under lieutenant colonel Christie, were to pass over together. Thirteen boats were provided for their conveyance, and when the heights should be carried, lieutenant colonel Fenwick's flying artillery were to cross over; then major Mullany's detachment of regulars; and the other troops to follow in order. Early in the night, colonel Christie marched his detachment by the rear road, from Niagara to camp. At seven in the evening, lieutenant colonel Stranahan's regiment moved from Niagara falls; at eight o'clock, Mead's regiment; and at nine, lieutenant colonel Blan's regiment. Each corps was in camp in proper time. At the dawn of day, the boats were in readiness, and the troops embarked early in the morning of the 13th, under cover of a commanding battery, mounting two 18 pounders and two 6's.

Whilst these preparations were going forward, the British at Queenstown were surreptitiously apprised of the contemplated movement of the American troops; and they despatched expresses to give intelligence to general Brock, who was at that moment quartered at fort George. —The heights were lined with troops, and measures instantly adopted to repel the debarkation. The boats had scarcely put off, before they received a brisk fire of musketry, from the whole line on the Canadian shore. The American batteries were immediately opened to sweep the opposite shore, and three British batteries played with great severity upon the boats. Lieutenant colonel Scott,

of the 2d artillery, with a detachment of that regiment from Black Rock, had reached Schlosser, by water, on the night preceding, without being formally apprised of the halt of general Smyth's brigade, to which he was attached. On his arrival here, he learned the intention of general Van Rensselaer, and commenced his march for Lewistown, after midnight, with two 6 pounders, under the command of captains Towson and Barker, and, notwithstanding the extreme badness of the roads, rendered still more difficult of passage by the darkness of the night, he arrived in time to return the first of the enemy's fire, and, by drawing a portion of the attention of his batteries towards himself, to facilitate the crossing of the American volunteers and regulars. The eddies in the river were violent; the shot from the enemy fell in heavy showers on the boats, and the difficulty of combating the former, and avoiding the latter, not only embarrassed the officers, but put many of the oarsmen into confusion. A grape shot from a battery below Queenstown, which *enfiladed* the place of crossing, struck the boat in which was lieutenant colonel Christie, wounded him in the hand, and alarmed the pilot and boatmen so, that the boat fell below the intended place of landing, and was obliged to return. The boats in which major Mullany followed the two columns, fell also below the point, two of them into the hands of the enemy, and that officer also returned. But colonel Van Rensselaer, who commanded the whole detachment, and whose boats formed the van, moved to the enemy's shore, succeeded in touching it at the designated place, and effected the landing of the van, consisting of 100 men, under a tremendous fire, directed upon him from every point. In ascending the banks, the colonel received four balls. Captain Armstrong, captain Malcolm, and captain Wool, were wounded, and ensign Morris was killed. A party of the British then issued from an old fort below Queenstown, but being fired on by the Americans, immediately retreated. A strong battery, which fired incessantly upon the van, obliged it to retire under the banks, where colonel Van Rensselaer lay wounded, who, though in excruciating pain, with great difficulty, stood up, and ordered his officers to proceed with rapidity and storm the fort, and, if possible, to ascend and carry

the heights. The men were instantly rallied. About 60 of the most determined, commanded by captain Ogilvie, seconded by captain Wool, though wounded, and lieutenants Karney, Carr, Hugginan, and Sammons, and ensign Reeve, of the 13th; and lieutenants Gansevoort and Randolph, of the artillery, cautiously mounted the rocks on the right of the fort, gave three cheers, and assailed and reduced it after three desperate charges. They then carried the heights, and thus gallantly executed the whole order of the colonel, driving the enemy down the hill in every direction. A party of them retreated behind a stone guard house, where a piece of ordnance was briskly served, but a fire from the battery at Lewistown, was so effectually directed upon it, that it was in a few minutes silenced. The British then retreated behind a large stone house. The American matrosses were ordered to turn the guns of the fort upon them, but lieutenant Gansevoort had hastily spiked the cannon, and they were now therefore useless. The enemy's fire was silenced, however, with the exception of one gun, which was out of reach of the American cannon; and the boats were crossing, unannoyed, but by this battery. Reinforcements arrived after this brilliant success, under captain Gibson of the light artillery, captain M'Chesney of the 6th, and captain Lawrence of the 13th, infantry; and colonels Mead, Stranahan, Allen, and other militia officers. At about 10 o'clock, the British line was re-formed, and flanking parties sent out. Lieutenant colonel Christie succeeded in getting across the river with 500 men, and took command. General Brock, having received the expresses which were forwarded to him, arrived at this moment, at the head of a reinforcement of regulars from fort George. He had led them round the heights to the rear of the battery, when captain Wool detached 160 men to meet them. The detachment was driven back, but being immediately reinforced, pressed forward again, and was again driven back to the brink of the precipice, forming the Niagara river above Queenstown. Seeing that nothing short of a miracle could save the detachment from being beaten; that they were nearly without ammunition, and supposing it useless to sacrifice the lives of brave men, one of the officers was in the act of hoisting a white flag on a bayonet, when



captain Wool, knowing, that if the men held out a short while longer, they would be relieved by reinforcements, tore down the flag, and ordered his officers instantly to rally the troops and bring them to a charge. At this moment, a reinforcement arrived, which augmented the detachment to 320 men, who being led to the charge, made a forcible appeal to the bayonet, entirely routed the British 49th regiment, of 600 men, and pursued them up the height, until the ground was regained, which the detachment had just before lost. Part of the 41st were acting with the 49th, both of which regiments distinguished themselves, under the same commander, in Europe; and the latter had obtained the title of the Egyptian Invincibles, because they had not on any occasion before, been known to give ground. General Brock, indignant almost to exasperation at the flight of this regiment, was attempting to rally it, when he received three balls at the same instant, which immediately terminated his brave career. His aid, captain M'Donald, fell at his side, mortally wounded. At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, brigadier general Wadsworth, of the militia, lieutenant colonel Scott of the artillery, and major Mullany, crossed the river, and took the several commands which had been assigned to them.—Captain Wool, in obedience to the order of colonel Christie, crossed over to Lewistown, had his wounds dressed, and returned to the scene of action. General Van Rensselaer, had crossed over to Queens-town, and considering the victory complete after the repulse of the 49th, and the death of general Brock, he commenced preparations for encamping in the enemy's country. But, in expectation of further attacks by other reinforcements, he directed that the camp should be immediately fortified, and committed this service to lieutenant Totten, a skillful officer of the engineers.

The enemy was reinforced at 3 o'clock, by several hundred Indians from Chippewa, who, under the direction of the British in the town, commenced a furious attack upon the American troops, whose whole number did not exceed 920. As they approached through the woods and an orchard, the troops not knowing their number, at first faltered. Lieutenant colonel Christie, and lieutenant colonel Scott, behaved with great coolness, and making

every possible exertion, led the men promptly on, and in a short time, the Indians being routed, fled before the bayonet and rifle, leaving several dead, and one of their chiefs a prisoner. General Van Rensselaer observing that the troops were embarking very slowly, and fearing the necessity of a strong accession of numbers, crossed over to Lewistown during the assault of the Indians, to expedite the movements of the militia. 1200 and upwards of them, were standing on the American shore, inactive, and apparently, unconcerned spectators of the battle. At the very moment when victory was perching on the banners of their country, the ardour of the unengaged troops entirely subsided, and no effort could induce them to cross the line, and share in the glory of the day's triumph. Thrice already had the battle been won; three assaults of the enemy had been vigorously repulsed; and the conquest of the town and heights must necessarily have followed. One third part of the disengaged men would have secured it; but they had witnessed at a distance the furious attack of the Indians; they had seen the bodies of their wounded fellow soldiers brought back to the garrison; and they refused to go further than the laws of their country authorized the general to command them. They claimed the privileges allowed them by the laws of the country, whose honour and renown they refused to assist in promoting; they beheld as gallant exploits as the world perhaps ever witnessed, but still they were not animated by the same spirit of enthusiasm, nor the same degree of valour. Peremptory orders were disobeyed, solicitations disregarded, and all argument exhausted to bring them to a sense of that duty, which the General vainly hoped, had urged them in the first instance, to press for an opportunity to act. Lieutenant colonel Bloom, who had been wounded in one of the three engagements, mounted a horse and rode among them with the General, but his example had no more effect than the General's persuasions. Meanwhile, another reinforcement was seen coming up the river from fort George. The battery on the hill was considered as an important check to their ascending the heights, and measures were immediately taken to send over a fresh supply of arms and ammunition. The reinforcements, however, obliqued from the road to the

right, and formed a junction with the Indians in the rear of the heights. The American troops being scattered in pursuit of the Indians, lost an opportunity of *enfilading* the reinforcing column as it approached the heights, and were taken a little by surprise. Knowing that the troops at the heights must be nearly exhausted, and their ammunition as nearly expended; overwhelmed with mortification and disappointment at the refusal of the militia to cross; and seeing that another severe conflict, which the reduced detachment could not long sustain without great loss, would very soon take place, general Van Rensselaer despatched a note to general Wadsworth, acquainting him with the conduct of the militia, "Leaving the course to be pursued much to his own judgment, with an assurance, that if he thought best to retreat, he (general Van Rensselaer) would send over as many boats as he could collect, and cover his retreat by every fire which he could possibly make with safety." The last British reinforcement amounted to 800 men, and when drawn up in a line with their artillery, and flanked by their Indians, at about 4 o'clock an obstinate contest ensued, and was kept up for half an hour, with a tremendous discharge of flying artillery, musketry and cannon, until the American detachment, finding that they were not to be reinforced, their strength being nearly exhausted, and those of the militia who had already distinguished themselves, being unable to fight longer, received orders to retreat, upon the reception of general Van Rensselaer's note; which they did in good order, down the hill to the point at which they had landed. In retiring, they received considerable aid from the American batteries, which kept up a brisk and well directed fire on the enemy, as he pressed upon their rear, and frequently checked his advancing column, or dispersed his parties of light troops and Indians, thrown out to cut off those whose wounds, or fatigue, might separate from the main body. Many of the boats had been destroyed, others had been taken, and there remained but 4 or 5 to take the whole of the detachment to Lewistown. These were crossing when the last affair took place, and the boatmen, becoming panic struck, had fled from their duty, and the boats were consequently dispersed, so that few of the Americans escaped from



the Canada shore. In this distressing dilemma, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, to the number of 386 regulars, and 378 militia; 62 of the regulars and 20 of the militia being wounded. The estimate of killed in the detachment was 90. When the last detachment arrived from fort George, the whole American force was formed into line, in three divisions, and amounted to only 240 men, the militia refusing to act longer, and many of the regulars being then already wounded. The victorious enemy treated their prisoners, while on the frontier, with the most generous tenderness; but, for want of will or power, they put no restraint upon their Indian allies, who were stripping and scalping not only the slain, but the dying that remained on the field of battle. The lifeless body of ensign Morris, who was brother to the amiable and distinguished naval officer of that name, was stripped to his shirt, and indignities, too savage to be recorded, were committed on his person. The body of general Brock was committed to the grave, with the usual military honours, and the guns at fort Niagara were fired during the ceremony, as a tribute of respect for a gallant enemy.

There was no officer crossed the line, upon this memorable day, who did not do honour to his country. Colonel Scott was in full dress, which, with his tall stature, rendered him a conspicuous mark for the enemy. It has been said, that several Indians told him of their having shot at him, but he received no wound. A company of volunteer riflemen, under lieutenant Smith, who took the Indian chief, behaved with the courage of veterans. Lieutenant colonel Fenwick was wounded three different times, and each time severely; captains Gibson, Wool and M'Chesney, and lieutenant Roach, of the artillery, who was wounded in the arm, are said to have particularly distinguished themselves.

The British forces in the different battles, with the exception of the first, was at no time less than 1100; in the last and fourth engagement, it was much greater. Their loss is not known. An arrangement was entered into, on the 14th, by which a few prisoners were paroled; the remainder were taken to Montreal.

Whilst the troops were embarking at Lewistown in the

morning, the batteries at fort George opened a cannonade upon fort Niagara, which was returned, and kept up with hot shot on both sides, for several hours. From the south block-house of the American fort, the shot was principally directed against the village of Newark, and several houses were set on fire, one or two of which were entirely consumed. This battery was commanded by captain M'Keon, and the guns were worked with great ability. The enemy commenced throwing shells, and as there were no defences against these, captain N. Leonard, the commandant at fort Niagara, preferred ordering a retreat from the garrison, rather than expose a handful of men to their danger. The bursting of a 12 pounder, by which two men were killed, deprived the fort of its best battery. The retreat had scarcely been ordered, when a number of boats, loaded with troops, were observed to put off from the enemy's shore; upon which, captain M'Keon returned to the fort with a guard of 20 men, remained in it during the night, and was joined next morning by the rest of the garrison. Very few were wounded, and none killed except the two men by the bursting of the gun.

Early in the following week, the British batteries below fort Erie, opened a very heavy fire upon the village and fortifications of Black Rock, and kept it up at intervals during the day. There being no larger pieces than 6's at the breastworks, very few shot were returned. Several cannon shot struck the battery, and two or three passed through the upper loft of the west barracks. The east barracks were destroyed by a bomb thrown from a 24 pounder, which blew up the magazine, and burnt a quantity of the skins taken in the Caledonia. General Porter, of the New York militia, was sitting at dinner in his quarters, when one 24 pound ball struck the upper loft of his house, and another entered it through the roof.

On the 22d October the enemy landed at St. Regis, a village, without a garrison of any kind, and from which he could move immediately upon the camp at French Mills. The tribe of Indians inhabiting the village, were friendly to the United States, and as it entered into the views of the enemy to persuade them from the service of the American government, into which they might probably enter, and to flatter them into their own, sir George Prevost,

under the authority with which he was clothed, had forwarded to this tribe, presents of blankets, guns, specie, &c. under an escort of soldiers, and accompanied by despatches, in which he solicited their alliance. The force was variously stated, from 1 to 300, and major G. P. Young, commanding the American militia from Troy, at the Mills, determined on immediately attacking them, as it was understood they were halting there, for an increase of numbers. He detached captain Tilden to the St. Lawrence, with a view of gaining a circuitous route to one of two houses in which the British were said to be quartered, and to secure the enemy's boats, which were stationed there, to prevent his retreat. Captain Lyon was detached with orders to take the road running along the bank of the river St. Regis, with directions to gain the rear of the other house; and major Young, with the remainder of the forces, moved on in front. When within 50 yards of either house, he heard a firing which convinced him that captain Lyon was engaged. One round was sufficient. The enemy surrendered; but not to the number reported to have landed, and the Americans made 40 prisoners, and took one stand of colours, 38 muskets, the despatches, and all the baggage. Two *batteaux* were taken by captain Tilden, and the troops returned to their encampment at about 11 o'clock. The British lost 4 killed, and 1 mortally wounded.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 17th of November, four British barges approached the American shore, about a mile above Ogdensburg, and on being hailed by a sentinel and refusing to answer, were immediately fired upon. The report of his piece brought several riflemen to his assistance, when the barges opened a smart fire of grape shot, without effect, and soon after retired to Prescott harbour. On their way thither they fired several shot into the town, which were returned by a 6 pounder.

This affair was followed on the night of the 19th, by an incursion seven miles into the British territory, by colonel Z. M. Pike, and a part of the 15th regiment. He assaulted, and carried a post, which was defended by a large body of British and Indians, burned a block house, put the garrison to flight, and returned with a loss of 5 men wounded.



At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the British, having prepared mortars, and planted a long train of battering cannon, behind breastworks erected on the opposite margin of the river, commenced a bombardment of fort Niagara, and opened a cannonade from the batteries at, and in the neighbourhood of, fort George, which was kept up, without a moment's cessation, until sundown. They employed five detached batteries in this affair.—Two of them mounting 24 pounders, and one mounting a 9 pounder. The remainder were mortar batteries, from five and an half, to ten and an half inches, from which were thrown great quantities of shells. These fortresses, are situated nearly opposite each other at the mouth of the Niagara river, and command its entrance from lake Ontario. The guns of fort Niagara may be brought to bear alternately upon fort George and the town of Newark, whilst a dependency of fort Niagara, called the salt battery, and mounting one 13 and a 4 pounder, was, at the time of the attack, directly in a range with, and calculated to do much damage to the enemy's garrison. The American fort had received an augmentation of force, immediately after the cannonade of the 13th, several corps, which had marched to Lewistown having been ordered, after the battle of Queenstown, to relieve the garrison; but it was not yet supplied with a sufficient quantity of artillery and ammunition. It was now commanded by colonel George M'Feely. In the course of the day the enemy threw 2000 red hot balls, and 180 shells. The shells proved to be harmless, but the hot shot set fire to several buildings, which were within and about the fort; but through the incessant vigilance of all the officers, and men, particularly of that gallant officer, major Armistead, of the United States corps of engineers, who has on many other occasions distinguished himself, the fires were got under and extinguished, without being discovered by the enemy. Notwithstanding the vast shower of shells and cannon ball, which was falling into the fort, the garrison performed their duty with unremitting alacrity, and served their pieces with coolness and composure. Captain M'Keon commanded a 12 pounder in the southeast block house; captain Jacks, of the 7th militia artillery, commanded in the north block

house, a situation most exposed to the enemy's fire.—Lieutenant Rees, of the 3d artillery, had command of an 18 pounder, on the southeast battery, from which several well directed shot were made, whilst the piece was pointed at the enemy's battery *en barbette*, mounting a 24 pounder. Lieutenant Wendal, of the same regiment, had command of an 18 and 4 pounder on the west battery; Dr. Hooper, of the militia artillery, had command of a 6 pounder on the mess house; and lieutenants Gansevoort and Harris, of the first artillery, had command of the salt battery. Thus disposed, they returned the fire of the enemy, with vigour and effect. They directed several of the pieces at the town of Newark, and repeatedly fired it with hot shot. The buildings within fort George were also fired, and at one time one of the batteries was silenced. A part of the parapet falling on lieutenant Rees, his left shoulder was so severely bruised, that it became necessary for him to quit his station, and captain Leonard, happening at that moment to arrive at the fort, took command of lieutenant Rees's battery for the remainder of the day. The continuation of the bombardment was far from lessening the animation of the men, and they fought with undiminished cheerfulness until the cannonading ceased. Colonel M'Feely spoke of all the garrison in very strong terms of praise, and of lieutenant colonel Gray, major Armistead and captain Mulligan particularly. During the bombardment a 12 pounder burst, and killed two men. Two others were killed by the enemy's fire; and lieutenant Thomas and four men were wounded. From the salt battery the enemy was very much annoyed. A few shot from the 4 pounder there, sunk a schooner, which lay at the opposite wharf, and such was the spirited earnestness of both officers and men at this battery, that when in the most tremendous of the bombardment, they had fired away all their cartridges, they cut up their flannel waistcoats and shirts, and the soldiers their trousers, to supply their guns. An instance of extraordinary bravery took place in the garrison, in the hottest of the cannonade, and for deliberate coolness and courageous fortitude, was surpassed, neither by Joan, maid of Orleans, nor the heroine of Saragosa.—Doyle, a private in the United States' artil-

lery, who had been stationed in the fort, was made prisoner in the battle of Queenstown. His wife remained in the garrison; and being there on the 21st, she determined to resent the refusal of the British to parole her husband, by proffering her services, and doing his duty against the enemy, whenever the works should be assailed. She, accordingly, on this occasion served the 6 pounder on the mess house, with hot shot, (regardless of the shells which were falling around her) and never quitted her station until the last gun had been discharged.

General Van Rensselaer, having resigned his command on the Niagara, general Smyth now contemplated a more effectual invasion of Canada, than that which had so recently failed. From a description of the river below the falls; the view of the shore below fort Erie; and from information which he had received of the enemy's preparations; general Smyth was of opinion, that the landing should be effected between fort Erie and Chippewa. This opinion he had delivered to general Van Rensselaer before the battle of Queenstown, and, being in command, he was resolved that it should now be acted upon. The troops stationed at Black Rock and Buffaloe were equally desirous of engaging the enemy, and the general promised them conquest and renown. In order that he might visit the Canadian shore, with a force competent to retain the posts which might be captured, he desired to increase his numbers, by such an accession of volunteers, as would be willing to perform one month's service in the army; to submit to the rigid discipline of a camp; and to encounter the enemy on his own soil. He immediately communicated his intentions by a proclamation, issued on the 10th November, circulated in the counties of Seneca, and Ontario, and inviting persons thus disposed to place themselves under his authority. This proclamation produced the intended effect. It held forth great allurements, and appealed to the patriotism of the American citizens. Under this proclamation, numbers of volunteers came forward with the expected alacrity; and on the 27th of November, the force, collected at the station, amounted to 4,500 men, including the regular troops, and the Baltimore, Pennsylvania, and New York volunteers, the latter being placed under the command of general Peter B.



Porter, of the militia. On the following morning, at *re-veille*, the whole force was to embark from the navy yard at Black Rock, and to proceed on the contemplated expedition. No possible preparation was omitted. At the navy yard, there were laying for the purpose of transporting the troops across the river, 70 public boats, calculated to carry 40 men each; 5 large private boats, which were taken into the public service, to carry 100 men each; and ten scows, for the artillery, to carry twenty-five each; which, together with a number of small boats, also provided, were to transport the whole of this army. After reminding the citizens, that for many years, they had seen their country oppressed with numerous wrongs; and that their government, though above all others devoted to peace, had been forced to draw the sword, and rely, for redress of injuries, on the valour of the American people, which valour had in every instance been conspicuous: general Smyth's proclamation continued, "*That one army had been disgracefully surrendered and lost; and another had been sacrificed, by a precipitate attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines, with most incompetent means.* That the cause of these miscarriages was apparent; the commanders being popular men, 'destitute alike of theory and experience,' in the art of war. That in a few days, the troops under his command, would plant the American standard in Canada; as they were men, accustomed to obedience, silence, and steadiness. Must I turn," continued he, "from you, and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British king, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds?"\*

Accompanying a second proclamation of general Smyth, of the 17th November, in which was recapitulated most of the appeal of the former, and in which he set forth,

\* It was about this time understood, that a number of friendly Indians proposed to be taken into general Smyth's army, but that, from principles of the most sacred humanity, and not knowing to what excesses they might be carried, in the event of a successful invasion, he explicitly refused to let them accompany him into Canada.

that "disloyal and traitorous men had endeavoured to persuade the people from doing their duty," was an address from general Porter to the people of Ontario and Genesee; in which he informed them, that general Smyth had a powerful army at Buffaloe, under strict discipline, in high spirits and eager for the contest. That with this army, he would in a few days occupy all the British forts on the Niagara. That as humanity suggested this conquest should be achieved with the least possible sacrifice, general Smyth had asked their aid and co-operation, for the purpose of obtaining a force that would overawe opposition, and save the effusion of blood. That he intended himself to accompany the expedition; that a vigorous campaign of one month would relieve their fellow citizens, of the frontier, from their sufferings; drive off the savage knife; restore peace to the whole of that section of the country; and redeem the tarnished reputation of the nation.

A large number of troops were thus assembled at and near Buffaloe, where they were organized, equipped, and drilled for the intended invasion. Before they should embark, however, for that purpose, general Smyth deemed it prudent to dislodge the enemy from the position he occupied upon the opposite shore, and to destroy his batteries, and light artillery, as well as the bridges on his left, by which his retreat would be cut off from Queens-town or St. Davids. The general, therefore, directed lieutenant Angus, of the navy, with the officers and seamen under his command, amounting in all to 70, and captain King of the 15th regiment, with about the same number of infantry regulars, to proceed on the night of the 27th to the accomplishment of this object. The expedition was conducted with all the necessary precaution, and the boats had nearly reached the Canadian shore, before they were discovered by the enemy's sentinels. A vivid fire of artillery and musketry was instantly opened upon them, but the detachment nevertheless effected a landing, and being formed upon the shore by their respective commanders, the sailors and soldiers promptly advanced to the assault of the batteries. These were successfully stormed, and the British driven to their barracks at the Red House, where they rallied with 250 men, and commenced a rapid fire of musketry. The guns at the batteries being spiked, lieutenant

Angus and captain King, assisted by Samuel Swartwout, esq. an enterprising citizen of New York, who, being at the station, volunteered his services, followed up their success, by a desperate assault upon the Red House. The sailors charged with boarding pikes and cutlasses, the regulars with the bayonet, and after a hard and destructive engagement, they routed the enemy, fired the barracks, and took about 50 prisoners. Captain King then marched with 12 men, to possess himself of another battery at a little distance from those which had been already taken, and at which he intended to remain until the army should cross over. Lieutenant Angus returned with the remainder of the detachment, and the wounded and prisoners, and put himself in readiness to navigate the boats, in which the main body of general Smyth's troops were to embark.

The loss of officers and men, to whose courage, ability and discipline, both lieutenant Angus and captain King attributed the success of the enterprise, was great. Sailingmaster Watts, the same who had distinguished himself in cutting out the Caledonia, fell at the head of his division of the sailors as he was gallantly leading them on. Among the wounded navy officers, were lieutenant Wragg, badly; sailingmaster J. H. Carter, badly—lost the entire use of his right arm; sailingmaster Session, desperately, and died a few days after; midshipman Dudley, slightly; Brailsford, Mirvin, and Holdup, severely; and Graham dangerously—amputation of a leg. Boatswain Campbell was wounded badly, and lost the use of an arm. Of the regulars, captain Dox and lieutenant Lisson were wounded badly.

Every battery between Chippewa and fort Erie, being carried, and the cannon spiked, or destroyed, sixteen miles of the Canadian frontier were laid waste and deserted, and at daybreak of the 28th, the batteries on the American side were in readiness to cover the embarkation of the army, and most of the troops had arrived at the designated place. Three hundred and forty volunteers, who had rallied under general Smyth's proclamation, well armed and provided, were marched by general Porter to the navy yard. One hundred and fifty others were drawing arms at Buffalo, and had orders to follow immediately. At sunrise, the troops generally began to embark,



the artillery having been ready from daylight, but such was the tardiness, of a portion of them, that at 12 o'clock the whole body, with colonel Swift's volunteer regiment, were not yet in the boats. A considerable number of barges had been thrown upon the shores of the river, and Conejockeda creek, by the high tide of the preceding day; others were filled with ice and water, and several laying about one mile below. To collect and put these in order for the reception of the troops, required a delay of several hours more, and it was not until two o'clock, that all the troops intended to be sent over at the first crossing, were collected in a group of boats at Black Rock, under cover of the batteries, where general Porter, having brought up the five boats which were below, joined, and took his station among them. The number now embarked, according to the estimate of general Porter, amounted to 2000, who were anxiously awaiting the order to proceed. General Tannehill's volunteers, colonel F. McClure's regiment, and some riflemen and cavalry, in all about 2000 more, were still paraded on the shore, and were to constitute the second embarkation. In the mean time, captain King and his 12 men, who were yet in the enemy's territory, dismounting his pieces, were made prisoners, and about 500 British troops had been drawn up in line, about half a mile from the river, sounding their trumpets and bugles, and indicating their readiness to receive the Americans. Late in the afternoon, general Smyth ordered the troops to disembark, and silenced their murmurs, by an assurance, that the expedition was only postponed until the boats should be put in a state of better preparation, and that they (the troops) should immediately after be put in motion. The different regiments retired to their respective quarters; general Porter marched his volunteers to Buffaloe, but the enemy was actively employed in remounting his guns upon the batteries.

On Sunday, the 29th, an order was issued, from the head quarters of the commanding general, for the march of the troops to the navy yard, to embark on the following morning, at 9 o'clock. The time and manner proposed in this order, were disapproved of by all the officers; and those of the highest rank addressed the general, and stated their objections to the plan. The repaired state of the enemy's batteries rendered it inexpedient to cross at the

point *above* the island, which covers the navy yard; *below* that point he lay much augmented, in consequence of the gallant affair of the 28th, and occupied a line of shore, of nearly a mile, from which he would have a full view of the American movement if made by daylight. To avoid the fire of the British flying artillery and infantry, it was proposed to general Smyth, that the troops should be landed 5 miles below the navy yard, at an hour and a half before day, on the morning of Tuesday, so that this dangerous shore might be passed in the dark; when if the boats *were* discovered, the troops would suffer less from the enemy's fire. The place which was thus recommended, was of all others, peculiarly favourable to a safe and orderly landing, and the proposal was accordingly adopted, and the army to embark at 3 o'clock, and to land at half past 4, in the order of battle prescribed on the 28th.

On Monday evening (30th,) 7 boats for colonel Swift's regiment, and 8 for the new volunteers, were brought up the river and placed at different points, so that the noise and confusion of embarking the whole at one place, might be avoided. At half an hour after 3, these boats were occupied, and took their station opposite the navy yard. The regulars were to proceed on the right, general Tannehill's volunteers in the centre, and the New York volunteers on the left. General Porter, with a chosen set of men, was appointed to proceed in front, to direct the landing, and to join the New York volunteers when on the opposite shore. On the arrival of the boats which were to compose the van, general Porter found that the artillery, composed of a detachment of the light artillery, under captain Gibson, and captains Towson and Barker's companies of the 2d regiment of heavy artillery, were embarking in the scows with as much haste as possible: but one hour elapsed before the regular infantry attempted to follow, when col. Winder, at the head of the 14th, entered the boats with great order and silence. Every thing seemed to promise a speedy and successful issue; the troops intended to be embarked were now nearly all in readiness to proceed; general Porter dropped to the front of the line with a flag, to designate the leading boat; and the word only was wanted to put off. General Smyth now suddenly called a council of war, composed of colonel Moses Porter, colonel Winder, colonel Coales, colonel

Campbell, and colonel Schuyler, who, upon representations made by the General, decided that the expedition should not be at that time undertaken. The front of the line was one-fourth of a mile from the shore, when the rear was observed to be retarded, and general Porter received orders from general Smyth to disembark immediately. He was at the same time informed that the invasion of Canada was abandoned for the season; that the regulars were ordered into winter quarters; and that as the services of the volunteers could now be dispensed with, they might stack their arms and return to their homes. Previously to this order, an interview had taken place between general Smyth and a British major, who came over with a flag.\* The scene of discontent which followed, was without parallel. 4000 men without order or restraint, indignantly discharged their muskets in every direction. The person of the commanding general was threatened. Upwards of 1000 men, of all classes of society, had suddenly left their homes and families, and had made great sacrifices to obey the call of their country, under general Smyth's invitation. He possessed their strongest confidence, and was gaining their warmest affections: he could lead to no post of danger, to which they would not follow. But now, the hopes of his government; the expectations of the people; the desires of the army; were all prostrated, and he was obliged to hear the bitter reproaches, and the indignant epithets of the men, whom he had promised to lead to honour, to glory, to renown. The inhabitants refused to give him quarters in their houses, or to protect him from the rage of those who considered themselves the victims of his imbecility, or his deceit. He was obliged constantly to shift his tent to avoid the general clamour, and to double the guard surrounding it; and he was several times fired at, when he ventured without it. An application was made to him by the volunteers, to permit *them* to invade the enemy's territory, under general Porter, and they pledged themselves to him, to take fort Erie, if he would give them four pieces of flying artillery. This solicitation was

\* It is stated in a letter written by general Smyth to the author, that the object of this interview, was to negotiate for the exchange of a British surgeon's mate then a prisoner at Black Rock.



evaded, and the volunteer troops proceeded to their homes, execrating the man whom they had before respected, and the general on whose talents, and whose promises, they had placed the most generous reliance.

General Smyth, however, found those who gave their approbation to his measures, and who thought that he had saved his army, by relinquishing the invasion of Canada. The public mind was for a long time agitated with doubts about the propriety of his conduct, in not prosecuting the campaign, and breaking up the enemy's strong posts along the Niagara. Few, however, have hesitated to declare his culpability, in inducing men to leave their homes for a month's incursion into the British territory, unless *he* intended to effect it at every hazard, which *they* might be willing to encounter. But he has alleged, that his orders from the commander in chief were to cross with "three thousand men at once;" that he could not ascertain the number of troops which would go over until he saw them actually embarked; that when they were embarked, they did not amount to more than 1512 men, exclusive of the staff, being but half the number with which only, his instructions authorized him to assail the opposite shore; and that many of the militia not only refused to go, when ordered into the boats by his brigade major, but that more than half of general Tannehill's brigade had deserted. In his official letter to general Dearborn, he stated, that he had called together a council of his officers, agreeably to his instructions, in all important cases, and they decided against the contemplated operations, upon the ground of the insufficiency of force. That he then informed the officers, the attempt to invade Canada would not be made until the army should be reinforced, and directed them to withdraw their troops, and cover them with huts immediately.—That the volunteers and the neighbouring people were dissatisfied; and it had been in the power of the contracting agent (alluding to general Porter,) to excite some clamour against the course pursued, as he found the contract a losing one, and would wish to see the army in Canada, that he might not be bound to supply it.—That the situation of the force under his (general Smyth's) command, had not been such as to make the propriety of a forward movement obvious to all: that circumstanced as he was, he thought it his duty "to

“ follow the cautious counsels of experience, and not by precipitation, to add to the list of our defeats.”

Whether general Porter's anxiety to see the army in Canada, arose from so interested a motive as general Smyth has alleged, or whether he was actuated by a desire to see the campaign of 1812 closed with some brilliant achievement of the American arms, the reader will be better able to judge, by remembering the indefatigable exertions which that general made, to enlarge the forces at Buffalo, and of the personal share which he was disposed to take in the most dangerous part of the enterprise.

On the 2d of December, the enemy again opened his batteries upon Black Rock, probably with a view to inform the American army that his guns were unspiked and replaced, and that he was again in a state to resist the invasion. His fire was returned from the battery at the Rock, now called fort Gibson, one of the guns of which, under captain J. N. Barker, was so well directed, that the ball entered an *embrasure*, at the British battery, dismounted a heavy gun, and disabled the carriage. In a few hours the enemy's fire was completely silenced.

The troops were now all quartered; barracks erected at Williamsville, for the reception of the largest proportion; and no operations took place until the close of the year. The armies were distinguished by titles, derived from their situations. That which was commanded by general Smyth, being the ARMY OF THE CENTRE, and that upon the St. Lawrence and its vicinity, being the NORTHERN ARMY. This latter, which consisted of an active force of 5737 men, of infantry, cavalry, field and horse artillery and militia, had also gone into winter quarters; and the hopes of the nation rested now only on the NORTHWESTERN ARMY, which we left in the neighbourhood of the Rapids of the Miami; the head quarters of its commander at Sandusky, making vigorous preparations for a push upon the British and Indians at Detroit, and resolved upon quartering for the winter in one of the enemy's garrisons.

## CHAPTER VII.

*The Navy—Third naval victory, the United States over the British frigate, the Macedonian—Progress of the naval establishment on lake Ontario—Chauncey's squadron pursues the Royal George into Kingston harbour, and bombards that town—The Growler captures an enemy's sloop—Fight between the British sloop of war, Charybdis, and the privateer Blockade.—The Orders-in-Council exchanges broadsides with the British sloop of war, Opossum—The Tom captures the Townsend—The Bona vanquishes a 22 gun ship—The Dolphin engages and carries two armed vessels—Fourth naval victory, the Constitution over the British frigate, the Java.*

THE American arms on the ocean all this time continued to be triumphant. One naval victory succeeded another, until the people of the United States were astonished at the ceaseless prowess of their tars; and the nations of Europe stood in admiration, and began to look upon the rising naval establishment of America, as a future rival to the formidable enemy, against whom it was already successfully contending.

The United States' frigate the *United States*, captain Stephen Decatur, of 44 guns, carrying 54, having separated from the squadron under commodore Rodgers, with which she left Boston on the 18th October (1812,) cruised in the track of the British frigates until the 25th, when in latitude 29 deg. N. long. 29 deg. 30 min. W. she fell in with the British frigate *Macedonian*, captain John Carden, of 38 guns, but carrying 49, the odd one being a shifting gun. The *Macedonian* was to windward, and entered the engagement at her own distance. For half an hour after the commencement of the action, the *United States* had no opportunity of using her carronades, the enemy keeping out of their reach, and never once coming within the range of grape or musketry. The action therefore, was of greater



length than usual, and continued under every advantage to the enemy, until the United States neared him. The fire from her then became so vivid, that the enemy's crew imagining her to be on fire, gave many demonstrations of their joy, and expected every instant to see her blown up. But the Macedonian's mizen mast was shot away by the board, her fore and topmasts by the caps, her lower masts badly wounded, her main mast destroyed, and all her rigging cut up. Most of her guns were disabled, the largest part of her crew killed and wounded, and having become a perfect wreck, she surrendered after an action of an hour and an half, at the moment when the United States was about to rake her.

The enthusiasm of the American crew, on discovering the enemy, and during the battle, was perhaps unprecedented, and the precision of their fire never surpassed in any other naval engagement. Captain Carden being brought on board, presented his sword to captain Decatur, who, in testimony of the gallantry of his enemy, declined accepting it, saying, that "he could not receive the sword of a man, who had defended his ship so bravely." The enemy's loss amounted to 104, 36 in killed, and 68 wounded: among the latter, her first and third lieutenants. The loss of the United States was 5 killed, and 7 wounded, making a total of 12. Among the latter was lieutenant John Musser Funk, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who afterwards died of his wounds, regretted for his worth, and admired for his constant coolness and courage. The United States received no damage whatever, and returned to port only to see her prize safe in. The superiority of gunnery was decidedly, in this action, on the side of the American seamen, who fired 70 broadsides, whilst the enemy discharged but 36.

The Macedonian was an entire new ship, and had been out of dock but four months. She was brought into the port of New London, and thence, through the Sound, to New York, where she was fitted out as a 38 gun frigate, and as such bought into the service of the United States, at the value of 200,000 dollars.

Captain Decatur every where received the congratulations of the citizens. The legislatures of Pennsylvania and Virginia voted him an elegant sword: the congress of the United States, a gold medal. The corporation of

New York voted him the freedom of the city, in a gold box, and had his portrait set up in their gallery; and the select and common councils of Philadelphia, (in which city he was born) voted him a superb sword; and appointed a committee, of which captain John Mullaney, formerly of the United States navy, was one; who, in conjunction with major general John Barker, then mayor of the city, were to procure it to be made of American materials. This sword was presented to captain Decatur by the mayor, accompanied by a concise and appropriate address, to which he made a pertinent and manly reply. Lieutenant Allen, first of the ship, and lieutenant Nicholson, received the same honours from the legislature of Virginia.

On lake Ontario the naval operations were becoming every day of more consequence. Arrangements had been made for the augmentation of the fleet, and a large ship was already on the stocks, nearly completed, and to be called the *Madison*. About the 6th of November (1812), commodore Chauncey, who commanded the fleet on this station, had some suspicion that three of the enemy's squadron had proceeded from Kingston, up the lake, with troops to reinforce fort George. The vessels supposed to have sailed in this direction, were the *Royal George* of 26, the *Duke of Gloucester* of 10, and the *Prince Regent* of 14 guns. Commodore Chauncey immediately sailed with the brig *Oneida*, of 14 guns; the *Governor Tompkins*, lieutenant BROWN, of 6 guns; the *Growler*, lieutenant MIX, of 5 guns; the *Conquest*, lieutenant ELLIOT, of 2 guns; the *General Hamilton*, lieutenant M'PHERSON, of 6 guns; the *Pert*, ARUNDLE, of 2 guns, and the *Julia*, TRANT, of 1 long 32 pounder, making in all 36 guns. As the enemy's vessels were expected to return to Kingston for more troops, it was intended to intercept them at the False Ducks, a collection of islands which they would be obliged to pass.

On the 8th, the squadron fell in with the *Royal George*, and chased her into the bay of Quinti, where she was lost sight of in the night. On the morning of the 9th, she was discovered in Kingston Channel. Signal was immediately made for a general chase; but by the alternate prevalence of squalls and calms, the squadron was led in close pursuit into the harbour of the enemy at Kingston.

The commodore being determined on boarding her, though she was anchored under the enemy's batteries, with springs on her cables, that she might get all her guns to bear, gave his signal to that effect. At three o'clock, the batteries opened their fire on the fleet, and sent forth a tremendous shower of shot and grape. Lieutenant Elliot, of the *Conquest*, pushed forward, and went in, in the handsomest style. He was followed by the *Julia*, the *Pert*, and the *Growler*, in succession; then came up the brig, with the commodore, then the *General Hamilton*, and the *Governor Tompkins*. At 12 minutes after 3, lieutenant Elliot opened his fire: at 15 minutes after 3, the *Pert*, *Julia*, and *Growler* opened theirs. At 20 minutes after 3, the whole of the batteries fired on the brig, and she sustained most of the fire during the remainder of the action. A little while after, the commodore gave the signal, "*engage closer*;" which was instantly obeyed. The *Pert's* gun, about this time, burst, and wounded her commander, who, refusing to leave the deck, was knocked overboard by the boom, and drowned. At 40 minutes past 3, the brig opened her fire on the *Royal George*, and the *Royal George* on the *Hamilton*. The firing became now very hot, and was kept up with the greatest alacrity until 4 o'clock, when the *Royal George* cut her cables and ran further up the bay.

The squadron became exposed to the cross fire of 5 batteries of flying artillery, in all about 40 guns, and the guns of the ship, the *Royal George*; which, having taken a more advantageous position, set new springs, and recommenced her fire. Round and grape were now falling about the squadron in heavy showers. At half an hour after 4, the whole hauled by the wind, and beat out of the bay; two miles from which, they anchored, in full sight, until the 10th; and after remaining there nearly all that day, they returned to Sacket's Harbour, with the loss of 1 man killed and 3 wounded on board the *Oneida*. Whilst at the mouth of Kingston Harbour, the commodore captured a schooner, and as she could not beat out with the squadron, he ordered the *Growler* to take her under convoy, to run down past Kingston, and anchor on the east end of Long Island, under an expectation that the *Royal George* would be induced to come out to recapture her; but her commander, fearing that the squad-



ron might be close at hand, would not leave his moorings. The *Royal George* suffered very severely in her hull, as a number of 32 pound shot pierced her through. The *Growler*, having in vain tried to induce the enemy to come out, sailed with the prize schooner for Sacket's Harbour. On her way, she discovered the *Prince Regent*, and the *Earl Moira* of 18 guns, convoying a sloop to Kingston. She immediately ran in, and placed herself behind a point, with her prize, until the armed vessels had passed her, when she ran out again, pressed down upon the sloop, captured and brought her into Sacket's Harbour, having on board about 12,000 dollars in specie, and captain Brock, cousin and private secretary to general Brock, together with that general's private property and baggage. The commodore immediately put off in a snow storm, with a hope of cutting off the *Earl Moira* at the False Ducks. Captain Brock expressed great surprise, on learning that the Americans had been in the British harbour, and that they had got out again with so little loss, the place being strongly defended. Commodore Chauncey, not having succeeded in intercepting the *Earl Moira*, returned again to the Harbour, and made preparations for completing the new ship *Madison*, which being finished on the 26th of November, was launched into her destined element without accident.

About this time, the American privateers were floating in every direction on the ocean. They cruised before the entrances of most of the British colonial ports, and, relying on the swiftness of their sailing, many of them had ventured into the chops of the British Channel. The alarm, which was in consequence excited among the merchants of Great Britain, and the vast number of captures which were making by these vessels, induced the English government to fit out several sloops of war, for the protection of their coast. The brig *Charybdis*, of eighteen 32 pounders, and the *Opossum* sloop of war, were ordered to cruise for several privateers, which were then known to be in the neighbourhood of the coast, and which it was confidently expected would be brought in by one or the other of these armed vessels. The *Charybdis* fell in with the privateer *Blockade* of New York, of 8 guns; and after an obstinate engagement of one hour and

20 minutes, in which the *Charybdis* lost 28 of her officers and men, killed and wounded, and the *Blockade* 8 men only, the latter was carried, and taken into port. The *Opossum* encountered the "*Orders-in-Council*," a small privateer, who fought her until they had exchanged 7 broadsides, when finding the enemy's force to be too powerful, she abandoned the contest, and effected her escape.

The privateer *Tom*, captain Wilson, of Baltimore, on the 23d of November, descried a sail, gave chase, overhauled, and brought her to an action, which terminated in the surrender of the enemy, with the loss of her captain and 4 men killed, and several wounded. She proved to be the British packet *Townsend*, M'Coy, from Falmouth for Barbadoes. Her mail had been thrown overboard, but was picked up by the *Tom's* boats; and after being ransomed, she was suffered to proceed.

The *Bona* privateer, of Baltimore, having discovered a British ship of 800 tons, and 22 guns, then on a voyage from Madeira, ran up and engaged her, when the great gun burst, and captain Dameron put 29 officers and men into his boats, and despatched them to board her. After a severe fight upon her decks, they carried her with little loss. Two strange sail at this moment coming up in chase, the *Bona* left the prize in possession of those on board, and bore away, to draw the chasing vessels after her.

The privateer *Dolphin*, captain W. S. Stafford, of 10 guns and 60 men, also of Baltimore, being off Cape St. Vincent, engaged a ship of 16 guns and 40 men, and a brig of 10 guns and 25 men, at the same instant; and after a long and gallant action, made prizes of both. The *Dolphin* had 4 men wounded: the enemy 19 killed and 40 wounded, among them the captain of one of the vessels. Instances of the bold and daring intrepidity of the crews of the private armed vessels of the United States, are so numerous, that the recital of them would swell this work very far beyond the limits which have been assigned to it. The enemy's commerce was every where assailed by them, and the British government were obliged to protect their merchant ships by large convoys of vessels of war.

A plan had been matured at the navy department for a cruise in the South Seas, and the frigate *Constitution*,

now commanded by commodore William Bainbridge, the *Essex*, captain Porter, and the *Hornet*, captain Lawrence, were selected to prosecute the voyage in company. On the 27th of October (1812), the *Essex* sailed from the Delaware, and on the 30th the *Constitution* and *Hornet* from Boston; several places of rendezvous having been assigned, at either of which this force was to be united, to proceed upon the cruise. On the 29th of December, the union of these vessels had not yet been effected; and on that day the *Constitution* descried a sail at meridian, in lat. 13 deg. 6 min. S. long. 38 W. ten leagues from St. Salvador, which she soon discovered to be a British frigate. Commodore Bainbridge tacked sail and stood for her. At 50 minutes past 1 P. M. the enemy bore down with an intention of raking the *Constitution*, which she avoided by wearing. Much manœuvring took place on both sides, the object of the enemy being to rake, and of the *Constitution* to avoid being raked, and to draw the enemy from the neutral coast. At 2 P. M. the enemy was within half a mile of the *Constitution*, and to windward, having hauled down his colours, except the union jack, which was at the mizen mast head. A gun was then fired ahead of him, to make him show his colours; but this gun was answered by a whole broadside. The enemy's colours were then hoisted, and the action began with round and grape; but he kept at so great a distance, that the grape had little effect, and to bring him nearer, would expose the *Constitution* to severe raking. At 30 minutes past two, both ships were within good canister distance, when the *Constitution's* wheel was shot away. At 40 minutes past two, the fore and main sail were set, and commodore Bainbridge, being now determined to close with him, luffed up for that purpose, and in ten minutes after, the enemy's jib-boom got foul of the *Constitution's* mizen rigging, and in another ten minutes his bowsprit and jib-boom were shot away. At 5 minutes past 3, his main topmast was shot away just above the cap. This was followed by the loss of his gaff and spanker boom, and soon after, his mainmast went nearly by the board. At 5 minutes past 4, the enemy was completely silenced, and his colours at the main being down, it was thought he had surrendered. The *Constitution* therefore shot ahead to repair damages, which being done, and the enemy's



flag being discovered to be still flying, she wore, stood for the enemy in handsome style, and got close athwart his bows in an effectual position for raking, when his mainmast having also gone by the board, and seeing that further resistance would be useless, whilst he lay so unmanageable a wreck, he struck his colours, and was immediately taken possession of by lieutenant Parker, and found to be his majesty's ship *Java*, of 38 guns, but mounting 49, commanded by a distinguished officer, captain Lambert, who was mortally wounded, and having on board at the commencement of the engagement, upwards of 400 men, and 100 supernumerary seamen, which she was carrying out to the East Indies, for different ships there. The *Constitution* had 9 men killed, and 25 wounded. The *Java*, 60 killed and 170 wounded. She had on board despatches for St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, and the different establishments in the East Indies and China, and copper for a 74, building at Bombay. She had also on board, a number of passengers, among whom were lieutenant general Hislop, governor of Bombay, major Walker, and one staff major, captain Marshal, and a master and commander in the royal navy, and several officers appointed to ships in the East Indies.

The conduct of the officers and crew of the *Constitution* in this engagement, was not less conspicuous for gallantry, than in that with the *Guerriere*, and the same principles of humanity influenced their deportment to the prisoners. Among the wounded were the commodore and lieutenant Aylwin, the latter of whom was shot immediately under the collar bone, (within an inch of his former wound,) and died at sea on the 28th January (1813). Upon the call for boarders, he had mounted the quarter deck hammock cloth, and was in the act of firing his pistols at the enemy, when the ball passed through his shoulder blade, and threw him upon the deck. Midshipman Delany, who had been at his side in both the actions of the *Constitution*, bore him to the side of the mast, and ordered two men from his own division to carry him below; but such was his zeal for the success of the ship, that he would not suffer a single man to be taken from his station, nor would he consent to leave the deck, until he saw the issue of the battle. Among the officers who distinguished themselves, were lieutenant Parker, the first

officer of the ship, and midshipmen James Delany, of Pennsylvania, and John Packet, of Jefferson county, Virginia; the latter of whom was entrusted with the despatches from commodore Bainbridge to the navy department, and has since been promoted to a lieutenancy. Many of the seamen exhibited a most uncommon degree of heroism: one of them, John Cheves, after being mortally wounded, remained on deck, apparently dying, until the termination of the engagement, when, the word being passed that the enemy had struck, he raised himself up with one hand, gave three cheers, and fell back and expired. His brother was also severely wounded.

On the first of January, 1813, (nautical time) commodore Bainbridge, upon being informed by lieutenant Parker, that the prize was in such a condition that many repairs would be required to render her at all manageable; and knowing the immense distance at which he then was from any port in the United States; and how much he would be obliged to weaken his crew, to man the prize properly; determined on blowing her up, which he accordingly did at 3 P. M. with every valuable article on board of her, except the baggage of the prisoners. To these he administered every comfort which his means could afford; and at St. Salvador, where he landed the remaining crew of the Java, he received the public acknowledgments of lieutenant general Hislop to that effect, accompanied by the presentation of an elegant sword. Captain Lambert had received a mortal wound in the early part of the engagement, and was in so languishing a situation, that he could not be removed from the Java, until her destruction was resolved on; after which the commodore directed his course to St. Salvador, to land and parole him. On arriving in that port, he landed the private passengers without considering them prisoners of war, and released the public passengers, and the officers and crew, amounting to 351 men, on their parole, on condition of their returning to England and remaining there, without serving in any of their professional capacities, until they should be regularly exchanged.

At St. Salvador, the Constitution met the sloop of war the Hornet, with whom she had parted a few days before the engagement, and leaving that vessel to blockade the British sloop of war the *Bonne Citoyenne*, commodore

Bainbridge broke up the intended cruise in the South Seas, and returned to the United States. Here he was greeted with the applauses of his countrymen, and received the freedom of the city of New York in a gold box, a piece of plate from the citizens of Philadelphia, the thanks of many of the state legislatures, and a medal from congress, with 50,000 dollars for himself, officers and crew. The legislature of Virginia voted a handsome sword to lieutenant Morgan and midshipman Packet of their state, and their approbation to the officers generally.

The comparative force of the two vessels, as well as the number of men in each, has been a subject of prevarication, and given rise to much public discussion. Captain Lambert having expired at St. Salvador, it became the duty of lieutenant Chads, first officer of the Java, to make an official communication of the affair to his government. That officer, unmindful of the generous magnanimity with which he had been treated, endeavoured to take away from the credit of the American commodore, by underrating the number of the British crew, and the actual force of the British ship; and by very largely overrating the force and crew of the Constitution. Assurances were given to commodore Bainbridge by the officers of the Java, that the ship left England with a crew which did not exceed 320 men, but the prisoners received on board of the Constitution very far exceeded that number; and when the muster book of the Java was found and examined, it called for 409 officers, petty officers, seamen and marines; so that their loss in killed must have been greater than they reported.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Contemplated movement of the British and Indians from Malden to Frenchtown—Battle between the advance of both armies, and the defeat of the British—Capture of general Winchester's force, and massacre of the prisoners—Siege of Fort Meigs—Dudley's victory—His defeat and death—Sortie from the garrison—Siege of Fort Meigs raised—Council of the Indian chiefs—Colonel Ball destroys a part of the hostile Indians.*

EXASPERATED at the successes of the American volunteer troops, in their repeated assaults upon the Indian posts along the northwestern frontier; the enemy resolved upon an immediate movement of his combined forces to the village of Frenchtown, with a view to intercept the American expedition, in its further approaches towards Detroit. In the event of this movement, which was now (January, 1813) every day looked for, the inhabitants of Frenchtown were apprehensive of being massacred, and they therefore implored general Winchester to march to their protection, though the troops at that time under his command, were far inferior in numbers to the collected force, by which in all probability they would be assailed. Without any previous concert with general Harrison, as to the plan of operations; and without his knowledge or authority, general Winchester, yielding to the solicitation of the inhabitants, determined upon marching with his small force, (then reduced to 800 men, by the discharge of those regiments whose term of service had expired) to prevent, if possible, the destruction of the village, and the threatened murder of its inhabitants. On the 17th, lieutenant colonel William Lewis was ordered to proceed with a detachment to *Presque-isle*, where he was to await the arrival of another detachment, under lieutenant colonel Allen, which would soon after be followed by the main body of the troops. On the morn-

ing of the 18th, the two detachments concentrated at *Presque-isle*; when colonel Lewis, having been informed that an advanced party of the British and Indians, amounting to about 500, were already encamped at Frenchtown, immediately determined on attacking them. A rapid march brought him within their view at about 3 o'clock. At three miles distance he was apprised of their being prepared to receive him, and, lest they should sally out and suddenly encounter him, he arranged his men in the order of battle, and approached with caution to the margin of the river. The command of the right wing, composed of the companies of captains M'Cracken, Bedsoe, and Matson, was assigned to lieutenant colonel Allen. The command of the left, composed of the companies of captains Hamilton, Williams, and Kelly, to major Graves. Major Madison was placed in the centre, with the companies of captain Hightower, of the 17th U. S. infantry, and captains Collier and Sabrie. Captain Ballard, acting as major, was sent in advance with two companies, commanded by captains Hickman and Graves. Thus organized, the whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy. The river only separated them. The line was then displayed, and the passage of the river attempted, under a fire from a howitzer, which the enemy directed against the volunteers, with little effect. The line, remaining compact, marched across the ice to the opposite shore, at the very moment when a signal was given for a general charge. Majors Graves and Madison were instantly ordered to assail the houses and picketing, in and about which, the enemy had collected and arrayed his cannon, before this charge could be made. The two battalions advanced with great velocity, under an incessant shower of bullets, carried the picketing with ease, dislodged the British and Indians, and drove them into the wood. Lieutenant colonel Allen made a simultaneous movement upon the enemy's left, then at a considerable distance from the remainder of his troops, and after one or two spirited charges, compelled him to break, and drove him more than a mile; after which, he took shelter in the same wood, to which the right had retired. Here the two wings concentrated, and, being covered by the fences of several enclosed lots, and a group of houses, with a thick and brushy wood, and a quantity of fallen

timber in the rear, they made a stand with their howitzer and small arms. Colonel Allen was still advancing with the right wing of the American detachment, and was exposed to the fire of the whole body of the enemy. Majors Graves and Madison, were then directed to move up, with the left and the centre, to make a diversion in favour of the right. Their fire had just commenced, when the right wing advanced upon the enemy's front. A sanguinary fight immediately followed: the houses were desperately assailed; the British, who were stationed behind the fences, vigorously charged upon; and their whole body obliged a third time to fly. Rapid pursuit was instantly given to them. The British and Indians drew the Americans into the wood, in their rear, and again rallying their forces, several times intrepidly attempted, under the direction of major Reynolds to break the American line. The fight became close and extremely hot, upon the right wing, but the whole line maintained its ground, repulsed every attempt, followed up the enemy each time as he fell back, and kept him two miles on the retreat under a continual charge. At length, after having obstinately contended against the American arms upwards of three hours, the British and Indians were entirely dispersed, and carrying off all their wounded, and as many of their dead as they could collect, they retired from the field, leaving 15 of their warriors behind. The American loss amounted to 12 killed and 55 wounded. The gallantry of the officers of the detachments, left no chance of discrimination to the commandant. Most of them have been already mentioned in reference to their conduct on other occasions. The coolness of the men was such, that whilst they were assaulting and driving the enemy from the houses, not a woman or child inhabiting them was hurt. Colonel Lewis encamped upon the same ground which had been previously occupied by the enemy. He had captured some public property, and protected the inhabitants thus far from the apprehended cruelty of the Indians, and he now made preparations to maintain his position until he should be joined by general Winchester.

On the 20th January, the troops under general Winchester arrived, and when the whole were concentrated, they did not exceed 750 men. 600 were posted in pic-



quets, and 150 composing the right wing were encamped in an open field. On the morning of the 22d, at *reveille*, a combined force under *Tecumseh* and colonel Proctor, of 2,100 men, attacked the encampment. The alarm gun was immediately fired, and the troops ready for the reception of the assailants. The attack commenced with a heavy fire of small arms, and the discharge of six pieces of artillery, directed immediately at the temporary breastwork behind which the left wing was stationed. The right wing was attacked with great violence, and sustained the conflict about 20 minutes, but being outnumbered and overpowered, was obliged to retreat across the river. Two companies, of 50 men each, sallied out of the breastwork to their assistance, but retreated with them. A large body of the Indians had been stationed in the rear of the encampment, before the attack commenced, who either made prisoners of, or cut off, the retreating party. The left wing maintained its ground within the picquets. Three furious onsets were made upon it by the British 41st, each of which was received with distinguished coolness, and each of which terminated in the repulse of the enemy. In the desperate resistance which was made to the charges of this regiment, 30 of its men were killed, and between 90 and 100 wounded. When the right wing was discovered to be retreating, every effort was used to form them in some order of action, either to repel the pursuers, or to regain the temporary breastwork, from behind which, the remaining part of the troops were still gallantly defending themselves. General Winchester's head quarters were several hundred yards from the encampment, he therefore was not in the first of the engagement, but he had no sooner arrived at the ground, than he, colonel Lewis, and some others, who were attempting to rally the flying right wing, were taken prisoners. The remainder of the battle was fought in confusion, and was rather a proof of the bravery of the Americans, than of any regard which they had for the order of the fight. They saw the great disparity of force, and knew how much their own had been weakened by the destruction of the right wing. But they continued to repel every charge of the assailants, until 11 o'clock, when an order was received, by a flag from the enemy, by which it appeared, that general Winchester was as-

sured, that unless the troops of his command were immediately surrendered, the buildings in Frenchtown would be set on fire, and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the savages, who composed the largest part of the enemy's force: that to save the lives of the remaining portion of his brave troops, he had agreed to surrender them prisoners of war, on condition of their being protected from the savages, of their being allowed to retain their private property, and of having their side arms returned to them. 35 officers, and 487 non-commissioned officers and privates were accordingly surrendered, after having fought with small arms, against artillery, for 6 hours; and being all that time surrounded by Indians resorting to their usual terrific yells. The loss of the Americans was 22 officers, and 275 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and missing, and 3 officers and 22 privates wounded, who were among the prisoners surrendered. The enemy's loss, except that of the 41st regulars, could not be ascertained, every means being used to prevent a discovery. It has been supposed, however, that it was little less than that of the Americans. Colonel Proctor afterwards stated it, in his official communication, to be 24 killed, and 158 wounded.

The events which followed the surrender of the American arms, were of such a nature as to make the heart of man recoil from their recital, and to deprive their recorder, at a more distant day, of that degree of temperance, which ought ever to be inseparable from candid and impartial narration. Facts, which have been established beyond the possibility of doubt; which have been testified by the solemn affirmations of the officers of the captured army, and admitted by those of the enemy; and which took place immediately under the eye of the conquering commander, ought not to be withheld from the world; the fidelity of history will not allow them to be magnified, its steady impartiality will neither permit them to be extenuated.

Destitute of the common principles of sacred humanity, and regardless of the civilized usages of honourable warfare, the allied British and Indian forces, no sooner received the surrender of the vanquished, though brave defenders of the invaded territory, than they assailed them with their tomhawks and scalping knives, and stripped them of their property and clothing. When the right

wing fell back, and about 40 men, under lieutenant Isaac L. Baker, were attempting to escape, an offer of protection was made to them, on condition of their surrender. Lieutenant Baker very gladly yielded to the proposal for the safety of his men, but the proffered protection did not follow. One half of his party were butchered and left naked on the field, and himself and the remainder marched back to colonel Proctor's camp. They gave up their arms to the Indians, and defenceless as they were, many of them who brought up the rear as prisoners, were massacred on the march. When general Winchester was captured, in the act of pursuing and rallying the right wing, the same solemn assurances of protection were given to him, on condition of his ordering the whole detachment to surrender. His humanity induced him to comply; but, when the troops were brought within the British camp, their side arms and accoutrements were taken from them, *and presented to the savages*. They were then left in custody of the Indians, who were instructed to follow the British regulars to Malden, to which place the prisoners were to be conducted. The wounded prisoners were more likely to become the objects of Indian resentment, and the American general remonstrated, therefore, with the commanding British officer on the necessity of their being removed by the regulars. To this remonstrance, a pledge was given, that such prisoners should be attended to. They were left behind, however, and on the morning of the 23d, the Indians fired many houses of the inhabitants, and burnt the prisoners who had been placed within them. Being then in readiness to march, they arranged other prisoners in that order, and on finding that many of them could not walk, in consequence of the severity of their wounds, they immediately stripped them, stood them up for targets, and after killing, tomhawked, and scalped them. Numbers who attempted the march to avoid so dreadful a fate, became exhausted on the way, and received the same treatment in the presence of their afflicted fellow prisoners. Among those who were placed in this situation, was an officer, whose case was of the most unparalleled atrocity. Captain N. G. S. Hart,\* of

\* Captain Hart was brother-in-law to Henry Clay, one of the American commissioners at Ghent, and speaker of the House of Representatives in the congress of the United States.



Lexington, who had, on several occasions, but on this particularly, signalized himself by his undaunted bravery, and who received a flesh wound in the knee, in the early part of the engagement, on being surrendered with the troops, was immediately recognized by colonel Elliot,\* an American by birth, who had been a class mate of captain Hart, at an American college, and who had long been notorious for his activity in exciting the savages to arm themselves against his fellow citizens. In this action he was bearing arms against his own countrymen, and on discovering the companion of his youth, in the hands of the savages, he felt that degree of national sympathy, of which no man, however vile, can entirely divest himself; and, without being solicited, made a promise of his protection, and of providing a conveyance to Malden, which would place captain Hart under his superintendence, until his recovery should be effected. But colonel Elliot's promise was forgotten. He departed, and a band of Indians entered the house in which captain Hart lay, and tore him from his bed; one of his brother officers then conveyed him to another apartment, where he was again assailed. He at length induced the Indians to agree to take him to Malden, under the promise of a large reward. They proceeded but five miles on the road, before they shot him, while on his horse, and took his scalp. The fate of colonel Allen, captains M'Cracken, Woodfolk, Hickman, and other officers, was no less unfortunate than that of captain Hart.

When the surviving prisoners, officers and men, arrived at Malden, the savages were allowed to sell them, and many of the American citizens, who had been permitted to remain in the town of Detroit for temporary purposes, stepped forward to ransom them; but when colonel Proctor discovered, that, by this means, they obtained their release, he issued an order forbidding any future exchanges of prisoners for money. Most of the officers, and many of the men, among the volunteers, were of the first respectability, holding offices of high trust, members of the congress of the United States, and accustomed to those refinements which result from wealth and education. They had left the ease and affluence with which their homes abounded, to obey the voice of their invaded coun-

\* A native of Maryland.

try, and had encountered all kinds of hardships in their different marches. These men, while prisoners at Malden, were treated with that haughty superciliousness, which belongs not to the noble soldier, nor to the enlightened man.

Judge Woodward, of the supreme court of the Michigan territory, rendered every assistance to the prisoners, within the power of an individual, and by the influence which he had acquired over the British commander, greatly alleviated their misfortunes. He boldly charged the enemy with the enormities which had been committed, and informed colonel Proctor, after having supplied him, by his own directions, with affidavits which substantiated all the facts, that "*the truth would undoubtedly eventually appear, and that, that unfortunate day must meet the steady and impartial eye of history.*" Colonel Proctor endeavoured to extenuate the facts, made no denial of their occurrence, but alleged that no capitulation was entered into; that the prisoners surrendered at discretion; and that, therefore, it was not necessary to control the Indians. The battle was officially announced to the Canadian people, from the head quarters of the commander in chief, the governor general. His communication informed them, that another brilliant action had been achieved, by the division of the army under colonel Proctor, and admitted that the loss of the Americans was great, *because the Indian warriors had cut off all who attempted to escape.* The Indian chief, *Round Head*, he said, had rendered essential services, by his bravery and good conduct, and colonel Proctor had nobly displayed his gallantry, by his *humane and unwearied exertions in rescuing the vanquished from the revenge of the Indians*; for which good conduct he was promoted, until the pleasure of the prince regent should be known, to the rank of a brigadier general in Upper Canada. The general orders concluded, by ordering "a salute of 21 guns, to be fired on this *glorious occasion.*"

General Harrison having heard of the exposed situation of general Winchester's troops, had ordered a detachment from general Perkin's brigade, to march under major Cotgroves, to his relief; but they did not reach Frenchtown before the battle, and immediately on their return to the Rapids, at which place general Harrison was then stationed, he fell back 18 miles to the carrying river, in order

to force a junction with the troops in the rear, and to cover the convoy of artillery and stores, then coming from Upper Sandusky. From this place he despatched a flag of truce with a surgeon to Malden, to attend to the captured sick and wounded; his flag was not respected, however, and one of the surgeon's companions was killed, and himself wounded and taken prisoner.

A strong desire now prevailed among the troops to avenge the loss of their brave brethren in arms, and governor Meigs having promptly forwarded two regiments of Ohio militia to reinforce general Harrison, he again advanced to the Rapids, and commenced building a fort, which has since been rendered memorable under the name of fort Meigs. Fortifications were at the same time constructed at Upper Sandusky, under the direction of general Crooks. Whilst these precautionary measures were adopted, for the protection of the troops, and the defence of the territory, detached parties were frequently indulged in short excursions, none of which resulted in any material advantage. In one of these, the commander in chief, himself, marched to *Presque-isle*, at the head of a detachment, upon hearing that a body of Indians had collected at that place; but the Indians fled, at his approach, too rapidly to be overtaken, and he returned to his encampment, after having marched 60 miles in 21 hours.

No event of any consequence occurred during the remainder of the winter. The unauthorized movement of general Winchester, was entirely subversive of general Harrison's plans, and so contrary to his arrangements, that the whole system of organization was again to be gone over. General Harrison therefore left the troops strengthening the posts of fort Meigs, Upper Sandusky, and fort Stephenson, whilst he returned to Ohio, to consult with the governor, to accelerate the march of the reinforcements, and to expedite the transportation of additional stores. He had not been long absent from fort Meigs, before the garrison was threatened with an attack. New levies were hastily made from Ohio and Kentucky, but as they did not arrive in time to resist the enemy, now collecting in large numbers in the neighbourhood, the Pennsylvania brigade voluntarily extended its term of service, which had just then expired. General Harrison was apprised of this circumstance by despatch, and re-



turned with all possible expedition to the garrison. He arrived on the 20th April (1813), and made instant preparation for an approaching siege. The fort was situated on a commanding eminence, and well supplied with every necessary munition of war; but general Harrison being desirous of putting his men in the best possible state of security, was every day erecting fortifications of different descriptions. The troops in the garrison were animated and zealous in the cause of their country, and their exertions without parallel. On the 28th, captain Hamilton was sent out with a patrolling party. About three miles down the river, he discovered the enemy in great force, approaching fort Meigs, and immediately communicated his discovery to the general. An express was then sent to general Green Clay, who commanded a brigade of 1200 Kentuckians, with an order for his immediate march to fort Meigs. General Harrison addressed the troops; informed them of the vital importance of every man's being vigilant and industrious at his post; and received assurances that none of them would abandon their duty. A few British and a body of Indians commenced a very brisk fire from the opposite shore, but the distance was too great to do injury. Their fire was returned from two 18 pounders, and they retired and concealed themselves from the view of the fort. In the evening, the enemy crossed the river in boats, and selected the best situations about the fort, to throw up works for the protection of their battering cannon. The garrison was completely surrounded, and preparations were active, upon one side to storm the fort, and on the other to repel the most vigorous assault. Several dragoons who had offered to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, had not proceeded far from the fort, when they were fired on, and one of them was shot through the arm. Early on the morning of the 29th, the Indians fired into the fort with their rifles, and mortally wounded a man who was talking with the general—a constant firing was kept up on both sides during the whole day. Several men in the garrison were slightly wounded, and a number of the enemy killed. The British batteries had been so far constructed during the night, that sufficient protection was afforded to him to work by daylight. Numbers of shot were thrown into the breastworks to impede their progress, but before night, they

had three batteries erected, two with four embrasures each, and one bomb battery. On the morning of the 30th, the besiegers were discovered to have extended their batteries, and to be preparing them for the cannon. Their progress in doing this, was retarded by a well directed and constant fire from the besieged. They were observed to carry away men from the batteries, by which it was supposed that the fire from the fort had either killed or wounded many of them.

General Harrison having a suspicion that the enemy intended to surprise and storm the garrison in its rear, from the circumstance of a number of boats having repeatedly crossed from the old British garrison to the side on which stood the American fort, each loaded with men; he gave orders for one-third of the troops to be constantly on guard, and the remainder to sleep with their muskets in their arms, and to be in readiness to fly to their posts at any moment. The Indians occupied all the advantageous positions round the fort, and to this and many other discouraging circumstances, was added the want of water, which was supplied only from the river, whence a few men each night were obliged to obtain enough for the garrison for the succeeding day. This they did at an imminent risk of their lives, the Indians being always on the alert. During this day (30th,) there were several killed and wounded on both sides. In the night, a gun boat which had been towed up the river by the enemy, was placed near the fort, and kept up a fire at intervals upon it. Not one ball entered it, however, and on the morning of May 1st, she moved off, after having discharged 30 shot without effect. This morning the grand traverse, at which the men had been some time engaged, was nearly finished, and several inferior ones were commenced in different directions. The American garrison was now in very excellent condition; and as soon as the well should be finished, would defy the utmost power of the besiegers. At about 10 o'clock, the enemy had one cannon prepared. With that he kept up a brisk fire. In the course of the day, he opened several pieces on the fort, and before night, he had in operation one 24 pounder, one 12, one 6, and a howitzer, from which he fired 260 shot during the day, without doing any material injury to fort Meigs; though one man was wounded mortally, two badly, and

five slightly; and a ball struck a bench upon which general Harrison was sitting. One of their pieces was silenced several times. The firing was continued during the following day (2d,) with bombs and balls. On the 3d, a fierce and vigorous fire of bombs and cannon balls commenced with the day. Two batteries, one of which was a bomb battery, were opened upon the rear right angle of the American fort, at a distance of 250 yards. Their fire was promptly returned, and several times silenced, but they continued at intervals during the day. The Indians ascended the trees in the neighbourhood of the fort, and fired into it with their rifles; only one man, however, was killed by a bullet. On the 4th, no firing took place until 11 o'clock. It was at first supposed that the enemy had exhausted himself, but at 9 o'clock it was discovered that he was erecting an additional battery, to guard against which, general Harrison ordered a new traverse to be constructed. A heavy rain, which fell in the early part of the day, retarded the firing on both sides.

General Clay had put his troops in motion, as soon as he received general Harrison's orders of the 28th ultimo, and had marched with great expedition. The officer who had been sent with the despatch, arrived at the fort on the 5th, with 47 men of general Clay's brigade, and informed general Harrison, that the whole detachment was within a few hours' march. Orders were immediately sent to general Clay to land 800 men on the opposite shore, to storm the enemy's batteries, spike his cannon, and destroy his carriages, whilst a sortie would be circuitously made from the fort, for the purpose of attacking his new works at the same instant, and compelling him to raise the siege. Colonel Dudley was charged with the execution of this order, and colonel Miller, of the 19th U. S. infantry, was to command the sortie. Colonel Dudley landed his men from the boats in which they had descended the river, and marched them resolutely up to the mouth of the British cannon. The four batteries were instantly carried, 11 guns spiked, and the British regulars and Canadian militia put to flight. In pursuance of general Harrison's orders, colonel Dudley, after having effected the object of his landing, ought to have crossed the river to fort Meigs, but his men were so much elated at the success of their first battle, that



they became desirous of pursuing and capturing the retreating enemy. An immense body of Indians, at that time marching to the British camp, were met by the regulars as they retired. With these they formed, and putting the Indians in ambush, they made a feint to draw colonel Dudley's men into the woods, in which they too well succeeded. The Indians came from their ambuscade, and attacked the brave but indiscreet Kentuckians. A severe engagement took place, which terminated in the death or capture of almost the whole detachment, and which was followed by the same kind of massacre, though not to the same extent, that succeeded the surrender at Raisin. The British intercepted the retreat of colonel Dudley to the river, where he would have been protected by the guns of fort Meigs, and only 150 men, out of 800, effected their escape. 45 were tomhawked, and colonel Dudley, their gallant leader, was among the killed. He is said to have shot one of the Indians, after being himself mortally wounded. The remainder of general Clay's brigade assailed a body of Indians in the wood, near the fort, and would have been also drawn into an ambush, had not general Harrison ordered a party of dragoons to sally out, and protect their retreat to the fort.

The contemplated sortie was intended to have been simultaneous with the attack on the opposite side of the river; but the impetuosity of colonel Dudley's troops, defeated this project, and colonel Miller, with part of the 19th and a body of militia, in all 350 men, sallied forth, after the Indians were apprised of the attack upon the old batteries. He assaulted the whole line of their works, which was defended, as has since been ascertained, by 200 regulars, 150 militia, and 4 or 500 Indians, and after several brilliant and intrepid charges, succeeded in driving the enemy from his principal batteries, and in spiking the cannon. He then returned to the fort with 42 prisoners, among whom were two lieutenants. The first charge was made on the Indians and Canadians, by the battalion of major Alexander, the second on the regulars and Indians, by colonel Miller's regulars, the officers of which were captains Croghan, Langham, Bradford, Nearing, and lieutenant Campbell, and a company of Kentuckians, commanded by captain Sabrie, who distinguish-

ed himself in the first affair at Frenchtown. This company maintained its ground with more firmness than could have been expected from a hasty levy of militia, and against four times its number. It was at length, however, surrounded by Indians, and would have been entirely cut off, had not lieutenant Gwynne, of the 12th, charged the Indians with part of captain Elliot's company, and released the Kentuckians.

On the 6th, hostilities seemed to have ceased on both sides. The besieged sent down a flag by major Hukill, to attend to the comforts of the American wounded and prisoners, which returned with the British major Chambers, between whom and the garrison, some arrangements were made about sending home the prisoners by Cleveland. On the 7th, there was a continuation of bad weather. Flags were passing to, and from, the two armies, during the whole day, and arrangements were entered into, by which the American militia were to be sent to Huron, to return home by that route, and the Indians were to relinquish their claim to the prisoners taken on the opposite shore, and to receive in exchange for them, a number of Wyandots, who had been captured in the sallies of the 5th. During the 8th, the exchange and intercourse of flags continued, and a promise was made by the British, to furnish general Harrison with a list of the killed, wounded and prisoners, which however was not complied with. On the 9th, the enemy was observed to be abandoning his works, a sloop and several gun boats had been brought up in the night, and were receiving the cannon—on being discovered, a few guns from fort Meigs obliged them to relinquish their design, and by 10 o'clock, the siege was raised, and the whole of the enemy's forces were on their retreat.

Thus terminated a siege of 13 days, in which the British commander, general Proctor, promised the Indian allies, that the American garrison should be reduced, and its defenders delivered over to them as prisoners of war. 1800 shells and cannon balls had been fired into the fort, and a continual discharge of small arms had been kept up, yet the American loss was only 81 killed and 189 wounded: 17 only of the former during the siege, the remainder in the sortie, and the different assaults of the 5th. Of the latter, 124 were wounded in the sortie, and

66 during the siege. The loss of the United States regulars was 156 in killed and wounded; that of the Kentucky and Ohio militia, and the twelve months' volunteers, 114. But Kentucky, as on other occasions, suffered the most severely, her loss in killed and wounded amounting to 72. The daring intrepidity of the citizens of that state, had continually, and too often with an indiscreet impetuosity, led them into the most dangerous situations. It was to this, that their defeat under colonel Dudley was to be attributed, and because of this, that they lost in that affair 200 and upwards, in killed and missing. But it was to this also, that the gratitude of the whole nation was due, when, regardless of the blood, which, in the first stage of the war, she had already freely and profusely shed, her citizens came forward with unabating alacrity, and volunteered their services on every hazardous expedition.

The force under general Proctor, was reported by deserters to be 550 regulars, and 800 militia. The number of the Indians, was greater beyond comparison than had ever been brought into the field before. They were much dissatisfied at the failure of the repeated attacks upon the fort, the spoil of which had been promised to them—yet they several times during the sortie, prevented the capture of the whole of their allies, the British regulars. In one of the assaults, commanded by captain Croghan, upon a battery which was defended by the grenadier and light infantry companies of the 41st regiment, the enemy suffered severely; and but for the immediate assistance of the Indians, could not have effected a retreat, which the vigour of the assault compelled them to make. General Harrison caused not only the ground upon which the enemy's batteries had been erected in the neighbourhood of the fort, but that on which colonel Dudley's battle had been fought, to be strictly examined; on the latter, the body of that unfortunate officer was discovered, dreadfully mangled.

Offensive preparations were now for a time suspended. The naval equipments on lake Erie, were in active forwardness, and until these were completed, the troops were to remain at forts Meigs and Sandusky. The forces at either were adequate to its defence, and general Harrison left general Clay in command of the former, whilst



he set out for the latter, and thence intended to repair to Franklinton, to forward new reinforcements. In the month of June (1813), a general council of Indian chiefs was assembled in the neighbourhood of Seneca town, Lower Sandusky, to which place the head quarters of general Harrison had been transferred. The result of their deliberations, was an offer to take up arms in behalf of the United States, and they proposed to accompany the general into Canada. But the incursions of the hostile chiefs were now more frequent than before. Their depredations were extended along the shores of the lake, and many of the inhabitants were killed or made prisoners. A temporary check was given, however, to their inroads, by a squadron of dragoons, who encountered and cut to pieces a party of the most ferocious of the savages. Colonel Ball was descending the Sandusky with 22 men, when he was fired upon by about 20 Indians from an ambush. He charged upon and drove them from their ambuscade, and after an obstinate contest upon a plain, favourable to the operations of cavalry, he destroyed every chief of the party. During the warmest of the engagement, he was dismounted, and in personal fight with a warrior of great strength. They fought with desperation until the colonel was relieved by an officer, who shot down the Indian. The savages then became furious, and after giving their customary signal, to receive no quarter, they made a vigorous onset, and kept up the contest until their whole band was destroyed. This affair produced some terror among the Indians, and the persons and property of the inhabitants were secured for a while from outrage and plunder.

The conduct of this vigilant and able officer, has been frequently spoken of, in general orders. At the repulse of the besiegers of fort Méigs, he was among the most conspicuous of those officers who vainly strove to surpass each other in the acquittal of their duty. To majors Ball, Todd, Sodwick, and Ritzer, and major Johnson of the Kentucky militia, the commander in chief gave a public expression of his warmest approbation. Of captain Wood, of the engineers, who has since that time so nobly distinguished himself in a sortie from another garrison, the general said, that in assigning to him the first palm of merit, as far as it related to the transactions with

in the works, he was convinced that his decision would be awarded by every individual in camp, who witnessed his indefatigable exertion; his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point, and in foiling every attempt of the enemy; and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty, in the most exposed situations. In speaking of the Kentuckians, he said, that it rarely happened that a general had to complain of the excessive ardour of his men, yet that such always appeared to be the case whenever the Kentucky militia were engaged, and that they appeared to think that valour alone could accomplish any thing. The general was led to make this remark, from the conduct of captain Dudley's company, of one of the militia regiments, as he understood that gallant officer was obliged to turn his espoutoon against his own company, to oblige them to desist from a further pursuit of the enemy. This declaration referred to the conduct of this company in the sortie.

On the 6th or 7th day of the siege, general Harrison received from general Proctor a summons to surrender, which was delivered in the usual form, by major Chambers, who informed the general that the British commander was desirous of saving the effusion of blood. General Harrison expressed great astonishment at this demand. As general Proctor did not send it on his arrival, he supposed the British officers believed he was determined to do his duty. Major Chambers, in vain attempted to persuade him of the high respect which general Proctor entertained of him as a soldier, and intimated to him that there was then a larger body of Indians assembled, than had ever been known to have been at one time organized. General Harrison dismissed him with assurances that he had a very correct idea of general Proctor's force, that it was not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest; that general Proctor should never have the post surrendered to him upon any terms; and, that if it should fall into his hands, it should be in a manner calculated to do him more honour, and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government, than he could possibly derive from any capitulation.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Preparation for the campaign of 1813, by the northern army and the army of the centre—Expedition against Elizabethtown, Canada—Capture of Ogdensburg by the British—Batteries at Black Rock—Concentration of forces at Sacket's Harbour—Description of the town and harbour of Little York, capital of Upper Canada—Embarkation of general Dearborn's army at Sacket's Harbour—Arrives at the mouth of York Harbour—British force under general Sheaffe—Landing of the American advance—Fight in the woods—Landing of the main force—British retreat to their garrison—Their works outside taken—They abandon their fort—Explosion of the magazine—Death of general Pike—The Americans enter the garrison—General Sheaffe withdraws his forces from the town, and retreats across the Don—His rear guard annoyed by lieutenant Riddle—Capitulation of the militia, and capture of York—Americans leave York and proceed to Niagara—The fleet sails to Sacket's Harbour for reinforcements—An expedition to the head of lake Ontario—The fleet returns—Its disposition before Newark—Attack upon, and capture of, Fort George—The fleet on Lake Erie—Capture of Fort Erie—Defeat of generals Chandler and Winder—Attack on Sacket's Harbour by sir George Prevost—His repulse.*

ARRANGEMENTS having been entered into between the American and British commissaries to that effect, a mutual exchange of prisoners took place, which restored to the army of the United States, all the distinguished officers, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the campaign of 1812. Vigorous preparations had in the meantime been making by the northern army and the



army of the centre, for opening the campaign of 1813. Reinforcements of regulars from most of the recruiting districts, and the necessary supplies of provisions and military equipments, had been forwarded with the utmost celerity, and every thing seemed to promise a successful issue to the contemplated operations.

Captain Forsythe and his detachment, consisting now of about 185 men, were still stationed at Ogdensburg, where he was in command. Deserters, from the Canada side of the St. Lawrence, were continually surrendering themselves to him, at this post, until their numbers became at length, so extensive, that the vigilance of the enemy was strongly excited. British guards were repeatedly sent over to the American shore in search of them, and though they succeeded in taking about 16, they committed so many aggressions upon the persons and property of the citizens, that captain Forsythe determined on attacking them in the village of Elizabethtown, and releasing the deserters whom they had thus taken and imprisoned at that place. On the 6th of February, (1813,) he therefore drafted a part of his own company, and accepted the services of a sufficient number of volunteers, to increase his command to 200 men. With these, accompanied by colonel Benedict and several private gentlemen, he proceeded up the river to Morristown, where he formed his men, and at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 7th, he crossed over to Elizabethtown, surprised the guard, took 52 prisoners, among whom were 1 major, 3 captains, and 2 lieutenants, and captured 120 muskets, 20 rifles, 2 casks of fixed ammunition, and some other public property, without the loss of a single man. He then released the deserters from jail, recrossed the river, and returned to Ogdensburg, where he negotiated with two British officers, sent over for that purpose, for the parole of the prisoners.

Soon after this, the movements of the enemy at Prescott were indicative of an intention to attack Ogdensburg. Colonel Benedict was therefore induced to call out his regiment of militia, and arrangements were immediately made for the defence of the place. On the 21st of February the enemy appeared before it, with a force of 1200 men, and succeeded in driving out captain Forsythe

and his troops. The British attacked in two columns, of six hundred men each, at eight o'clock in the morning, and were commanded by captain M'Donnel of the Glengary light infantry, and colonel Fraser of the Canadian militia. The American riflemen and militia received them with firmness, and contended for the ground upwards of an hour; when the superiority of numbers compelled them to abandon it, and to retreat to Black Lake, nearly nine miles from Ogdensburg, after losing twenty men in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy, from the deliberate coolness with which the riflemen fired, was reputed to have been thrice that number. The British account, which claimed the capture of immense stores, none of which had ever been deposited there, admitted the loss of five distinguished officers. In consequence of this affair, a message was sent by the commandant of fort George, to colonel M'Feely, the commandant of fort Niagara, informing him that a salute would be fired the next day in honour of the capture of the American village. Colonel M'Feely having received intelligence in the course of the same evening of the capture of his majesty's frigate the Java, returned the message to the British commandant, by communicating to him his intention, of firing a salute at the same hour from fort Niagara, in celebration of that brilliant event.

On the 26th March, the batteries on Black Rock were opened upon the enemy, and the fire continued with little intermission until night. The sailors' battery completely silenced the lower battery of the enemy, but what damage was done to his troops has not been ascertained. One man was killed, and several hurt by accidents at the Rock.

Reinforcements were now every day arriving, and the concentration of a large force at Sacket's Harbour, was effected about the middle of April (1813). Many of the troops from Champlain, and the shores of the St. Lawrence, among whom was captain Forsythe's command, were ordered to that point; and it was confidently expected that the campaign would be commenced by the invasion of Canada, in or before the following month of May. Orders had been given to commodore Chauncey, by the navy department, to receive on board the squadron, the commanding general Dearborn, and any force which he might destine to proceed against the posts on the British Niagara

frontier. A plan had been conceived and organized by general Dearborn, by which, in co-operation with the fleet, he was to storm and to carry the works at Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, and to proceed thence to the assault of fort George, the great bulwark of that country.

The capital of Upper Canada, was formerly known by the name of *Toronto*, and is situated at the bottom of a harbour of the same name, which is formed by a long and narrow peninsula, called Gibraltar Point, on the extremity of which stores and block-houses are constructed. The garrison stands on a bank of the main land, opposite to the point. To the westward of the garrison formerly stood the old French fort *Toronto*, of which scarcely any vestiges remain, and adjoining this situation is a deep bay, which receives the river *Humber*. The town of York is projected to extend to a mile and a half in length, from the mouth of the harbour along its banks. But many years must elapse before the plan is completed. Its advance to its present condition, has been effected in the course of fifteen. The government house, and the houses for the distinct branches of the legislature, are said to be handsome, and the view from the latter highly diversified.

Agreeably to a previous arrangement with the commodore, general Dearborn and his suite, with a force of seventeen hundred men, embarked on the 22d and 23d of April, but the prevalence of a violent storm prevented the sailing of the squadron until the 25th. On that day it moved into lake Ontario, and having a favourable wind, arrived safely at 7 o'clock, on the morning of the 27th, about one mile to the westward of the ruins of fort Toronto, and two and an half from the town of York. The execution of that part of the plan which applied immediately to the attack upon York, was confided to colonel Pike, of the 15th regiment, who had then been promoted to the rank of a brigadier general, and the position which had been fixed upon for landing the troops, was the site of the old fort. The approach of the fleet being discovered from the enemy's garrison, general Sheaffe, the British commandant, hastily collected his whole force, consisting of upwards of 750 regulars and militia and 100 Indians, and disposed them in the best manner to resist the landing of the American force. A body of British grenadiers were paraded on the shore, and the Glengary Fen-



cibles, a corps which had been disciplined with uncommon pains since the commencement of the war, were stationed at another point. Bodies of Indians were observed in groups, in different directions, in and about the woods below the scite of the fort, and numbers of horsemen stationed in the clear ground surrounding it. These were seen moving into the town, where strong field works had been thrown up to oppose the assailants. The Indians were taking post at stations, which were pointed out to them by the British officers with great skill, from which they could annoy the Americans at the point at which the water and the weather would compel them to land. Thus posted, they were to act as *tirailleurs*. The regulars were discovered to be moving out of their works in open columns of platoons, and marching along the bank in that order into the woods.

At 8 o'clock the debarkation commenced; at ten it was completed. Major Forsythe and his riflemen, in several large *batteaux*, were in the advance. They pulled vigorously for the designated ground at the scite, but were forced by a strong easterly wind a considerable distance above. The enemy being within a few feet of the water, and completely masked by the thickness of a copse, commenced a galling fire of musketry and rifle. To have fallen further from the clear ground at which he was first ordered to land, would have subjected not only his own corps but the whole body of the troops to great disadvantages; and by landing at a greater distance from the town, the object of the expedition might be frustrated. Major Forsythe, therefore, determined upon making that part of the shore on which the enemy's principal strength was stationed, and desired his men to rest a moment on their oars, until his riflemen should return the shot. General Pike was at this moment hastening the debarkation of the infantry, when, as he was standing on the ship's deck, he observed the pause of the boats in advance, and springing into that which had been reserved for himself and his staff, he called to them to jump into the boat with him, ordered major King of the 15th (the same who had distinguished himself in carrying the enemy's batteries opposite Black Rock,) to follow him instantly with three companies of that regiment, and pushed for the Canadian shore. Before he reached it, Forsythe had landed, and was already en-

gaged with the principal part of the British and Indian force, under the immediate command of general Sheaffe. He contended with them nearly half an hour. The infantry under major King, the light artillery under major Eustis, the volunteer corps commanded by Col. M'Clure, and about 30 men who had been selected from the 15th at Plattsburg, trained to the rifle, and designed to act as a small corps of observation, under lieutenant Riddle, then landed in rapid succession, and formed in platoons. General Pike took command of the first, and ordering the whole body to prepare for a charge, led them on to the summit of the bank, from which the British grenadiers were pouring down a volley of musketry and rifle shot. The advance of the American infantry was not to be withstood, and the grenadiers yielded their position and retired in disorder. The signal of victory was at the same instant heard from Forsythe's bugles, and the sound had no sooner penetrated the ears of the Indians, than they gave a customary yell, and fled in every direction. The Glengary corps then skirmished with Forsythe's, whilst a fresh body of grenadiers, supposed to have been the 8th or King's regiment, made a formidable charge upon the American column, and partially compelled it to retire. But the officers instantly rallied the troops, who returned to the ground, and impetuously charged upon, and routed the grenadiers. A reinforcement of the remainder of the 15th then arrived, with captain Steel's platoon, and the standards of the regiment, and the Americans remained undisputed masters of the ground.

A fresh front, however, was presented by the British at a distance, which gave way and retired to the garrison as soon as the American troops were again formed, by major King, for the charge. The whole body of the troops being now landed, orders were given by general Pike to form in platoons, and to march in that order to the enemy's works. The first line was composed of Forsythe's riflemen, with front and flank guards; the regiments of the first brigade, with their pieces; and three platoons of reserve, under the orders of major Swan; major Eustis and his train of artillery were formed in the rear of this reserve, to act where circumstances might require. The second line was composed of the 21st regiment, in six platoons, flanked by colonel M'Clure's vo-

lunteers, divided equally as light troops, and all under command of colonel Ripley. Thus formed, an injunction was given to each officer, to suffer no man to load; when within a short distance of the enemy, an entire reliance would be placed upon the bayonet; and the column moved on with as much velocity as the streams and ravines, which intersected the road along the lake, would permit. One field piece, and a howitzer, were with difficulty passed over one of these, the bridges of which had been destroyed, and placed at the head of the column, in charge of lieutenant Fanning, of the 3d artillery. As the column immersed from the woods, and came immediately in front of the enemy's first battery, two or three 24 pounders were opened upon it, but without any kind of effect. The column moved on, and the enemy retreated to his second battery. The guns of the first, were immediately taken, and lieutenant Riddle, having at this moment come up with his corps, to deliver the prisoners which he had made in the woods, was ordered to proceed to take possession of the second battery, about 100 yards ahead, the guns of which, lieutenant Fraser, aid-de-camp to the general, reported to have been spiked by the enemy, whom he discovered retreating to the garrison. General Pike then led the column up to the second battery, when he halted to receive the captured ammunition, and to learn the strength of the garrison. But as every appearance indicated the evacuation of the barracks, he suspected the enemy of an intention to draw him within range of the shot, and then suddenly to show himself in great force. Lieutenant Riddle was sent forward with his corps of observation, to discover if there were any, and what number of troops, within the garrison. The barracks were three hundred yards distant from the second battery, and whilst this corps was engaged in reconnoitring, general Pike, after removing a wounded prisoner from a dangerous situation, had seated himself upon a stump, and commenced an examination of a British sergeant, who had been taken in the woods. Riddle, having discovered that the enemy had abandoned the garrison, was about to return with this information, when the magazine, which was situated outside the barrack yard, blew up, with a tremendous and awful explosion, passed over Riddle and his party, without injuring one of his men, and killed and



wounded general Pike, and 260 of the column. The severity of general Pike's wounds disabled him from further service, and the command of the troops devolved upon colonel Pearce of the 16th regiment, who sent a demand to the town of York for an immediate surrender. The plan of the contemplated operations was known only to general Pike, and, as general Dearborn had not yet landed, the future movements of the troops would depend upon the will of their new commander. He ordered them immediately to form the column, and to march forward and occupy the barracks, which major Forsythe, who had been scouring the adjoining wood, had already entered. Meanwhile, the British regulars were retreating across the Don, and destroying the bridges in their rear. After the explosion, lieutenant Riddle with his party, then reinforced by 30 regulars, under lieutenant Horrell, of the 16th, pursued the enemy's route, and annoyed his retreating guard from the wood. This was the only pursuit which was made.

Had a more vigorous push followed the abandonment of the enemy's garrison, his whole regular force must have been captured, and the accession of military stores would have been extensively great. The majority of the officers were well aware of this, and as it was known that the stores were deposited at York, they urged the necessity of the immediate approach of the whole column, to prevent their removal. Colonel Pearce then marched towards the town, which was distant three quarters of a mile. About half way between York and the garrison, the column was intercepted by several officers of the Canadian militia, who had come out with terms of capitulation. Whilst these were discussing, the enemy was engaged in destroying the military store house, and a large vessel of war, then on the stocks, and which in three days might have been launched, and added to the American squadron on Ontario. Forsythe, who was on the left in advance, being aware of this, despatched lieutenant Riddle to inform colonel Pearce. Colonel Pearce enjoined the observance of general Pike's orders, that the property of the inhabitants of York should be held sacred, and that any soldier who should so far neglect the honour of his profession, as to be guilty of plundering, should, on conviction, be punished with death. At 4 o'clock in the af-

ternoon, the Americans were in possession of the town, and terms of capitulation were agreed upon, by which notwithstanding the severe loss which the army and the nation had sustained by the death of the general; the unwarrantable manner in which that loss was occasioned; and the subtlety with which the militia colonels offered to capitulate at a distance from the town, so that the column might be detained until general Sheaffe should escape, and the destruction of the public property be completed, although one of its articles stipulated for its delivery into the hands of the Americans; the militia and inhabitants were freed from all hardship, and not only their persons and property, but their legislative hall and other public buildings were protected. The terms of the capitulation were, "that the troops, regulars and militia, and the naval officers and seamen should be surrendered prisoners of war. That all *public stores, naval and military, should be immediately given up to the commanding officers of the army and navy of the United States, and that all private property should be guaranteed to the citizens of the town of York. That all papers belonging to the civil officers should be retained by them, and that such surgeons as might be procured to attend the wounded of the British regulars and Canadian militia, should not be considered prisoners of war.*" Under this capitulation, 1 lieutenant colonel, 1 major, 13 captains, 9 lieutenants, 11 ensigns, 1 deputy adjutant general, and 4 naval officers, and 250 non-commissioned officers and privates, were surrendered. The American infantry were then ordered to return and quarter in the barracks, while the riflemen were stationed in the town.

When general Pike's wound was discovered to be mortal, he was removed from the field, and carried to the shipping, with his wounded aids. As they conveyed him to the water's edge, a sudden exclamation was heard from the troops, which informed him of the American having supplanted the British standard in the garrison. He expressed his satisfaction by a feeble sigh, and after being transferred from the *Pert* schooner to the commodore's ship, he made a sign for the British flag, which had then been brought to him, to be placed under his head, and expired without a groan. Thus perished, in the arms of victory, by the ungenerous stratagem of a vanquished

foe, a soldier of tried valour, and invincible courage; a general of illustrious virtues and distinguished talents.

When the British general saw the American column advancing from the woods, he hastily drew up the articles of capitulation, and directed them to be delivered to a colonel of the York militia. This colonel was instructed to negotiate the terms after the regulars should have retreated. General Sheaffe, therefore, considered the garrison to be as much surrendered, as if the articles had been actually agreed upon and signed. Yet he treacherously ordered a train to be laid, which was so calculated that the explosion of the magazine should be caused, at the time when the Americans would arrive at the barracks. Had not general Pike halted the troops at the enemy's second battery, the British plan would have attained its consummation, and the destruction of the whole column would have been the natural consequence. The train had been skilfully laid, and the combustibles arranged in a manner to produce the most dreadful effect. 500 barrels of powder, several cart loads of stone, and an immense quantity of iron, shells, and shot, were contained in the magazine. The calamity which followed the explosion, caused no discomfiture among the troops. A number of their officers, of high rank, and of equal worth, were either killed or wounded, and they became actuated by a desire to revenge their fall. "*Push on, my brave fellows, and avenge your general,*" were the last words of their expiring commander. They instantly gave three cheers, formed the column, and marched on rapidly. Had they been led directly to York, the issue of the expedition would have been fruitful with advantages. As it was, however, the enemy's means were crippled, his resources cut off, and the military stores of the captors extensively multiplied. Most of the guns, munitions of war, and provisions, necessary to carry on the campaign by the enemy, had been deposited at York, and notwithstanding the firing of the principal store house, an immense quantity fell into the hands of the Americans. The baggage and private papers of general Sheaffe were left at York, in the precipitation of his flight, and proved to be a valuable acquisition to the American commander. These, and the public stores were the only articles of capture. The conduct of the troops needed no restraint.



Though their indignation was highly excited, by the circumstance of a scalp having been found, suspended near the speaker's chair, in the legislative chamber, neither the ornaments of the chamber, the building itself, nor the public library, were molested. A large quantity of flour, deposited in the public stores, was distributed among the inhabitants, on condition that it should be used for their own consumption; and those whose circumstances were impoverished, were supplied with many other articles of the captured provisions. The balance was taken on board the fleet, with the naval stores, or destroyed upon the shore.

Immediately after the fall of general Pike, the commander in chief landed with his staff, but he did not reach the troops until they had entered York. He there made arrangements to expedite their departure for the other objects of the expedition, and they were soon after re-embarked.

The co-operation of the squadron was of the greatest importance in the attack upon the enemy's garrison. As soon as the debarkation was completed, commodore Chauncey directed the schooners to take a position near the forts, in order that the attack of the army and navy, might, if possible, be simultaneous. The larger vessels could not be brought up, and in consequence of the wind, the schooners were obliged to beat up to their intended position. This they did, under a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, and having taken their station within six hundred yards of the principal fort, opened a galling fire, and contributed very much to its destruction. The loss on board the squadron, was 3 killed and 11 wounded. Among the killed were midshipmen Thompson and Hatfield, the latter of whom, in his dying moments, had no other care than to know if he had performed his duty to his country.

In the action, the loss of the American army was trifling; but in consequence of the explosion, it was much greater than the enemy's loss in killed and wounded. 14 were killed and 32 wounded in battle, and 38 were killed and 222 wounded by the explosion, so that the total American loss amounted to 320 men. Among those who fell by the explosion, besides general Pike, were 7 captains, 7 subalterns, 1 aid de camp, 1 acting aid, and 1 volunteer

aid. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded, amounted to 200—in prisoners 550—fifty of whom were regulars—being altogether 750 men. His wounded were left in the houses on the road leading to, and in the neighbourhood of York, and were attended to by the American army and navy surgeons. The prisoners were all paroled, and the troops withdrawn from York immediately after its capture.

The officers of the 15th, greatly distinguished themselves throughout the day. The death of their gallant leader, who had personally organized that regiment, and had already successfully led detachments of it to the field, inspired them with a more determined spirit to revenge the barbarous act of a defeated enemy, than could be felt by any other corps. Animated by this desire, they anxiously pressed forward, and had they been permitted to pursue the retreating column of the English, under the distinguished officer (major King) who now commanded them, general Sheaffe and his regulars would not have effected their escape. Several platoon officers of this, and the 16th regiment, were killed. Captains Nicholson and Lyon by the explosion—captain Hoppock, as his company were landing. Lieutenant colonel Mitchell of the 3d regiment of artillery, acted as a volunteer on the expedition, and by his indefatigable exertions, at every post of danger, gave strong presages of that gallantry, by which he has since identified his name with those of the bravest officers of the army. Major Eustis, captains Scott, Young, Walworth, and Stephen H. Moore of the Baltimore volunteers, who lost a leg by the explosion, and lieutenants McGlassin, Fanning, and Riddle, were among the most conspicuous officers of the day. The latter had been expressly selected by general Pike, from his own regiment, to command the corps of observation, and was always appointed to the most hazardous enterprises.

Lieutenant Bloomfield of the 15th, and nephew to brigadier general Bloomfield, was also killed. The army sustained another loss in the death of this brave young officer. The 21st regiment, under colonel Ripley, though it formed part of the reserve, and did not participate in the action at the place of landing, was in a state of strict discipline, and manœuvred with great skill.

On the 1st day of May (1813), the Canadian territory in the neighbourhood of York, was entirely evacuated. The troops were all placed in the vessels to which they had been respectively assigned, and a small schooner was despatched to Niagara, to apprise general Morgan Lewis, then in command at that place, of the result of the expedition against York, and of the intended approach of the troops toward fort Niagara.

But the fleet, which consisted of about 17 sail, did not leave the harbour of York until the 8th, in consequence of the prevalence of contrary winds. Late on that day, they arrived at Four Mile Creek, which empties into the lake at that distance below fort Niagara, and thence takes its name. Here the troops were landed.

On the 9th, two Schooners, under command of lieutenant Brown of the navy, were ordered to proceed to the head of lake Ontario, with 100 regulars, commanded by captain Willoughby Morgan, of the 12th regiment, to destroy or capture the public stores, which were then known to be deposited there. On their arrival, the enemy's guard, of about 80 men, retired; the public buildings were destroyed by the detachment, the stores brought away, and the expedition returned on the 11th, without loss.

On the 10th, commodore Chauncey sailed with the remainder of the fleet, to convey the wounded officers and men to Sacket's Harbour, and to obtain reinforcements there for the army. Between the time of his arrival at the harbour and the 22d of May, detachments of the squadron sailed on different days for Niagara, with such reinforcements as could be spared. Having directed the schooners *Fair American* and *Pert*, commanded by lieutenants Chauncey and Adams, to remain near the harbour, and to watch the enemy's movements from Kingston, the commodore sailed on the 22d with 350 of colonel McComb's regiment of artillery, and a number of additional guns, and arrived at the Niagara on the 25th.—Arrangements were immediately made, between commodore Chauncey and general Dearborn, for an attack upon fort George and its dependencies. On the 26th, the commodore reconnoitred the position at which the troops were to be landed, and at night sounded the shore, and placed buoys at stations for the small vessels. The wea-



ther, which had been for several days extremely boisterous, now moderated, and it was agreed that a conjoint attack, by the army and navy, should be made on the following morning. A sufficient quantity of boats, to land the troops in the order of attack, had been by this time provided, and a considerable number which had been for several days building at the Five Mile Meadows, above the fort, were now in readiness to be launched into the Niagara river.

On the afternoon of the 26th, the enemy, having observed the preparations for launching the boats, opened a small battery, which had been erected immediately opposite the meadows, for the purpose of annoying the workmen and of destroying the boats. The fire from this battery produced a premature cannonade between forts George and Niagara, which was followed by a bombardment between all the batteries in the neighbourhood of the two forts. The battery which stood directly opposite fort George, did great injury to that garrison, and its guns were directed with such precision, that the halyards of the enemy's flag staff were shot away. No block-house, or wooden building of any description, in or near that fort, escaped injury; whilst on the American side, not the most trifling loss was sustained. The boats, in the meantime, succeeded in passing fort George, and proceeded to the encampment at Four Mile Creek. On the same night, all the artillery, and as many troops as could possibly be accommodated, were put on board the *Madison*, the *Oneida*, and the *Lady of the Lake*. The remainder were to embark in the boats, and to follow the fleet. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 27th, signal was made for the fleet to weigh anchor. In consequence of the calmness of the weather, the schooners were obliged to resort to sweeps to attain their positions; which they did in the following order—Sailing masters Trant, in the *Julia*, and Mix, in the *Growler*, took their stations at the mouth of the river, and silenced a battery, which, from its situation, commanded the shore where the troops were to land, about one-fourth of a mile below the town of Newark. Mr. Steevens, in the *Ontario*, took a position to the north of the lighthouse, near which this battery was erected, and so close to the shore as to enfilade the battery, and cross the fire of the *Julia* and *Growler*.—

Lieutenant Brown, in the *Governor Tompkins*, stationed himself near the Two Mile Creek, on the enemy's side, where a battery had been erected of one heavy gun. Lieutenant Brown in the *Conquest*, anchored to the south-east of the same battery, opened on it in the rear, and crossed the fire of the *Governor Tompkins*. Lieutenant M'Pherson in the *Hamilton*, lieutenant Smith in the *Asp*, and sailing master Osgood in the *Scourge*, took stations near the above, to cover the landing, and to scour the woods and the plain.

This disposition was skilfully effected, and each vessel was within musket shot of the shore. At 4 o'clock, generals Dearborn and Lewis, with their suites, went on board the *Madison*, and by that hour the troops were all embarked. The whole number amounted to more than 4000. The batteries were now playing upon each other from the opposite sides of the river, and the troops advanced at intervals in three brigades. The advance was led by colonel Scott. It was composed of the artillery, acting as infantry; of Forsythe's riflemen, and of detachments from infantry regiments, and landed near the battery, which had been silenced by the *Governor Tompkins*. General Boyd, to whom the late general Pike's brigade had been assigned, commanded the first line, which was flanked by colonel M'Clure's Baltimore and Albany volunteers. This brigade struck the enemy's shore immediately after the advance had landed. The second brigade, under general Winder, followed next, and then the third, under general Chandler. While the troops were crossing the lake in this order, the wind suddenly sprung up very fresh from the eastward, and caused a heavy sea directly on the shore; the boats could not therefore be got off to land the troops from the *Madison* and *Oneida*, before the 1st and 2d brigades had advanced, and M'Comb's regiment, and the marines under captain Smith, did not reach the shore until the debarkation of these brigades had been completed.

When the advance, which consisted of about 500 men, was approaching the point of landing, successive volleys of musketry were poured upon it by 1200 regulars, stationed in a ravine. A brisk exchange of shot was kept up for 15 minutes, the advance, nevertheless, continuing to approach the enemy without faltering. Such, indeed,

was the eagerness of the troops, that officers and men jumped into the lake and waded to the shore. Captain Hindman of the 2d artillery, was the first man upon the enemy's territory. The troops were now formed with celerity, and led to the charge. They drove the enemy from their strong hold, and dispersed them in every direction; some of their forces taking to the wood for shelter, and others retreating to the fort. The former were vigorously pursued by Forsythe's riflemen, and the latter by the advance corps and the 1st brigade. Few shot were fired from the fort, the panic being instantly communicated to the garrison. Fort Niagara, and its dependent batteries, were still throwing in their shot, and fort George having become untenable, the enemy hastily laid a train to the magazines, abandoned all their works, and moved off with the utmost precipitation in different routes. Colonel Scott, with his light troops, continued the pursuit, until he was recalled by an order from general Boyd. Lieutenant Riddle had been sent by colonel Scott with his detached party, to annoy the rear of the enemy, but not being ordered back, at the time when the light troops were recalled, he followed his route to Queenstown, and took up several of his straggling parties. The dragoons under colonel Burn, crossed the Niagara river above fort George, at the moment the pursuit was stopped. The light troops now took possession of fort George; colonel Scott, and captains Hindman and Stockton, with their companies, entering first and extinguishing the fires which were intended to explode the magazine; one had, however, already been blown up. General Boyd and colonel Scott mounted the parapet, and cut away the staff, whilst captain Hindman succeeded in taking the flag which the enemy had left flying, and which he forwarded to general Dearborn. The American ensign was then hoisted in the town and fort, and all the troops were called in and quartered. At 12 o'clock, Newark, and all its surrounding batteries, were in quiet possession of the American army; and such was the speed with which the enemy retreated, that very few of his troops were overtaken. General Dearborn's forces had been under arms eleven hours, and were said to be too much exhausted to pursue him with as much rapidity as he moved off.



At the time the enemy abandoned his works, the wind had increased so much, and the sea had become so violent towards the shore, that the situation of the fleet at the stations which the different vessels had taken, was thought to be dangerous in the extreme. Commodore Chauncey therefore made signal for the whole fleet to weigh, and to proceed into the river, where they anchored between the forts George and Niagara. Although the action was fought by inferior numbers on the American side, the advance, and part of Boyd's brigade only being engaged, the loss of the enemy was excessive.—He had in killed, 108; in wounded 163; 115 regulars were taken prisoners, exclusive of his wounded, all of whom fell into the hands of the Americans: so that the loss of the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners, of his regular force, amounted to 366. The militia prisoners who were paroled to the number of 507, being added to their loss, makes a total of 893. The American army lost 39 in killed, and 111 in wounded. Among the former, only one officer, lieutenant Hobart of the light artillery. Among the latter, were major King of the 15th, captain Arrow-smith of the 6th, captain Steel of the 16th, captain Roach of the 23d (who had been wounded at the battle of Queenstown heights, and was promoted to the rank of captain for his good conduct there) and lieutenant Swearingen of Forsythe's riflemen. The British 49th (Invincibles) was in this action, and colonel Myers, who commanded it, wounded and taken prisoner.

In speaking of the conduct of the soldiers and seamen, both general Dearborn and commodore Chauncey alleged, that all behaved too well to suffer the election of any one for commendation. The former, however, in a second despatch to the war department, stated that the whole of the officers and men, discovered that readiness and ardour for action, which evinced a determination to do honour to themselves and their country—that the animating examples set by general Boyd and colonel Scott, deserved particular mention, and that he, the commander in chief, was greatly indebted to colonel M. Porter, of the light artillery; to major Armistead, of the 3d regiment of artillery; and to captain Totten of the engineers; for their skilful execution, in demolishing the enemy's fort and batteries. Lieutenant commandant Oliver H. Perry, had joined

the squadron on the night of the 25th, volunteered his services in the contemplated attack, and rendered great assistance in arranging and superintending the debarkation of the troops. On board the squadron, the loss was one killed and two wounded. Commodore Chauncey was indefatigable in his co-operations with the army, in all its important movements. Many of the advantages obtained in this affair, are to be attributed to his judicious plan of silencing the enemy's batteries.—General Dearborn had been confined for several days by a violent indisposition, but he refused to yield the command of the expedition, and issued his orders regularly from his bed.

Captain Perry was despatched to Black Rock the day after the battle, with fifty seamen, to take five vessels to lake Erie as soon as possible, and to prepare the whole squadron for the service by the 15th of June. Two brigs had been launched at Erie, and two or three small schooners, had been purchased into the service. The squadron was daily expected to be in readiness to proceed to Presque-isle, to co-operate with the northwestern army.

On the 28th, general Dearborn having received information that the enemy had made a stand on the mountain at a place called Beaver Dam, where he had a deposit of provisions and stores: and that he had been joined by 300 regulars from Kingston, landed from small vessels at the head of the lake, immediately ordered general Lewis to march to that place, with Chandler and Winder's brigades, the light artillery, dragoons, and riflemen, to cut off his retreat. Although the enemy's troops from fort Erie and Chippewa had joined his main body at Beaver Dam, he precipitately broke up his encampment on the approach of the Americans, and fled along the mountains to the head of the lake. General Lewis's army moved on and took possession of the different posts between fort George and fort Erie, the latter of which was entered by lieutenant colonel Preston, of the 12th, in the evening of that day; the post having been previously abandoned, and the magazines blown up by the enemy. Two days before, the Queen Charlotte, and three others, of the enemy's vessels, came down to that fort, but on hearing of the capture of fort George, they proceeded up the lake to Malden.

The enemy having abandoned all his positions along the Niagara, general Lewis returned with his division to fort George: but as it was rumoured, that general Proctor intended to march from the northwestern frontier, to join general Vincent, who had already marched from that place, and to retrieve the misfortunes of the British arms, it became necessary to press forward with a force competent to prevent the union of the British generals, or at least to intercept them, in their contemplated route. General Winder was therefore despatched on the first day of June (1813), with his own brigade, and one regiment of general Chandler's. He was followed on the 3d, by the remainder of Chandler's brigade, the dragoons and artillery, under the orders of that general to whom the chief command was assigned. They proceeded to the Forty Mile Creek, where they gained intelligence of general Vincent having taken a stand at Burlington Heights, near Stony Creek, being about 48 miles distant from the fort George. In the vicinity of Stony Creek, the Americans encamped; but in so careless a manner, that they were surprised by the enemy at midnight, and several of their principal officers made prisoners. General Vincent, it has been supposed, became possessed of the American countersign—and having discovered that the weakest part of the camp was its centre, he made an attack upon it, at that point, at two o'clock on the morning of the sixth. Profiting by the example of the Americans at York, he ordered that no musket should be loaded, lest a precipitate fire might apprise his unsuspecting enemy of his advance, and led up the 8th or King's regiment, and the 49th, with fixed bayonets, to charge upon the sentinels. The American advanced guard, under command of captain Van Vechton, were first alarmed by the groan of a dying sentinel, and were surprised and made prisoners. Five pieces of light artillery, near the front were captured, and turned upon the encampment, before the alarm became general. The two brigadiers, Chandler and Winder, who had but an hour before separated from a council, were instantly mounted, and the men formed with as much facility as the extreme darkness of the morning would permit. General Chandler took post in the rear of the left flank of the right wing—general Winder commanded the left wing. Such was the momentary



confusion which prevailed, that the contending parties could not distinguish each other. When the five pieces of artillery were fired into the encampment, generals Chandler and Winder both rode up to the battery, to prevent another discharge, under an impression that the American troops had mistaken the enemy. They were both consequently captured. The other officers were ignorant of the loss of their generals, and each chose his own plan of resisting the assailing party. The advanced corps, the 5th, 25th, and part of the 23d, were engaged; those in the rear did not get to the assistance of the front. The 16th, which because of the illness of its colonel, and the absence of its lieutenant colonel, and other field officers, was commanded by captain Steele, was forming on its standards, when the cavalry under colonel Burn, having cut their way through the British 49th, with such impetuosity that they could not stop, pierced through the centre of that regiment. The confusion increased. The different companies of the 16th, were firing on each other; the artillery were engaging the infantry, and the cavalry the artillery; each corps being under an impression, that it was contending with the enemy.

This state of things continued, until captain Towson opened his artillery, which, being stationed more in the rear than any of the other pieces, he brought against the enemy with such effect, that the confusion and disorder, which had taken place in the American lines, prevailed also within the British. The companies of the 2d artillery, which were then acting as light corps, under captains Hindman, Nicholas, Biddle, and Archer, kept up an incessant fire, until the dawn of the day enabled the troops to distinguish each other. An attempt was then made to form the line, colonel Burn now commanding. The 5th regiment, which had been annoying the enemy, from the commencement of the action until daybreak, did not lose one man, and was found at that time formed in line, and sustained on its left flank by part of the 23d, under major Armstrong. The firing from the encampment became brisk and irresistible. The enemy gave way, rallied and broke again. The dragoons charged upon, and completely routed them. They fled in every direction, and their commanding officer was missing before day. His horse and accoutrements were found upon the ground,

and he himself was discovered by his own people, in the course of the same day, almost famished, at a distance of four miles from the scene of action.

Several desperate efforts had been made before the enemy fled, to take the artillery. Lieutenant Machesney's gallantry recovered one piece, and prevented the capture of others. Lieutenant M'Donough, of the 2d artillery, pursued a retreating party, and recovered another. The good conduct of these brave young men, as well as that of captains Hindman, Nicholas, Archer, Steel, and Leonard, of the light artillery, has been spoken of, in general orders, in terms of strong commendation.—Colonel Burn and colonel Milton, gallantly distinguished themselves, and were said to have saved the army. The American loss in this affair, was 16 killed, 38 wounded, and 2 brigadiers general, 1 major, 3 captains, and 94 men missing; making in all 154. The whole of the missing fell into the hands of the enemy—whose loss was excessively severe, but particularly in officers. 100 prisoners, mostly of the 49th, were captured, and transported to fort George.—Captain Manners, of that regiment, being ill, was taken in his bed, by lieutenant Riddle, who, from a principle of humanity, put him on his parole, on condition of his not serving the enemy, until he should be exchanged.—An engagement which that officer violated, by appearing in arms against the American troops, immediately after the recovery of his health.

In the course of the morning, the British sent a flag of truce, to obtain permission to bury their dead, and to remove their wounded.—The latter, however, had been placed in the neighbouring houses, under the care of the American surgeons, and the army having given up the pursuit of the enemy, had fallen back to Forty Mile Creek, being about ten miles in the rear of the field of battle. Here it encamped, on a plain of a mile in width, its right flank on the lake, its left on the creek, skirting the base of a perpendicular mountain, and was joined on the same evening, by a detachment of the 6th and 15th regiments, and a park of artillery, under colonel James Miller. On the 7th of June, generals Lewis and Boyd arrived at the encampment, and the former assumed the command.

Intelligence had been immediately forwarded by gene-

ral Vincent, to sir James L. Yeo, then commanding the British fleet on lake Ontario, of the affair at Stony Creek, and of the position at which the Americans had encamped. In the evening of the 7th, the fleet appeared within sight of the encampment. Its character was not known, however; but, lest an attack might be again made upon the army in the night, the troops were ordered to lay on their arms. At daylight, on the 8th, the enemy's vessels were stationed abreast of the encampment, and within one mile of the shore. A large schooner was warped in, and opened her fire on the boats which had been employed to transport the American baggage, and which at that time lay upon the beach. Captains Archer and Towson, were ordered down, with four pieces of artillery, to resist her attempts to destroy the boats; and captain Totten, of the engineers, prepared a temporary furnace, for heating shot, and had it in operation in less than half an hour. The fire of the schooner was then returned with such vivacity and effect, that she was very soon obliged to retire. At this moment, a party of Indians showed themselves upon the brow of the mountain, and commenced a fire on the camp. General Lewis despatched a party from the 13th regiment, under colonel Christie, to dislodge them, but that service was performed by his adjutant, lieutenant Eldridge, who, seeing the necessity of driving off the Indians, had gallantly gained the summit of the mountain with a few volunteers, without orders, and repulsed the enemy before colonel Christie could reach that point. Sir James then demanded the surrender of the army, on the ground of its having a fleet in its front, a body of savages in its rear, and a powerful army of British regulars on its flanks. To this demand it was deemed unnecessary to make a reply; but as general Dearborn had sent an express to recal the troops to fort George, upon seeing the British fleet pass that post, general Lewis prepared to retire, in obedience to this order. The camp equipage and baggage were placed in the boats, and were ordered to proceed to fort George, under protection of colonel Miller's command, which was competent to resist any attack which might be made—but they put from the shore before the detachment came up; and after proceeding about 5 miles, were dispersed by an armed schooner of the enemy. 12 of them fell into the



hands of the British squadron, and the remainder either escaped, or ran ashore, and were deserted by their crews. At 10 o'clock the encampment was broken up, and the troops took up their march for fort George, having the enemy's Indians on their flank until they arrived within a short distance of the garrison.

The British fleet continued to cruise in the neighbourhood of the Niagara, and intercepted the supplies for the American army. Two vessels, having each a valuable cargo of hospital stores, were chased into 18 Mile Creek, and after making a short, but obstinate resistance, were carried by boarding, and the stores immediately transferred to the enemy's vessels. A party of 75 men had been forwarded by general Lewis, to repel the enemy's attack, but did not reach the place in time to prevent the capture.

The official account given by general Vincent, of the surprise of the encampment, claims a decisive and brilliant victory on the side of the British; and announces that the whole body of the American troops had been resolutely driven from the field; but the same general was known to have abandoned the command of the enterprise, as soon as the alarm was given in general Chandler's encampment, and to have consigned its execution to lieutenant colonel Harvey, and majors Ogilvie and Plenderleath, each of whom acknowledged a numerous loss of their most valuable officers and men. General Vincent's report to his government, could not, therefore, have been given on his own responsibility. On whatever side the victory may have been gained, however, great want of knowledge, in military movements, had been previously betrayed, by the officers who succeeded to the command of the American forces at Little York and fort George, in suffering a beaten enemy to escape from each of those places. At the former, general Sheaffe and his regulars effected a retreat, through the palpable tardiness of the victorious army. At the latter, the same troops which attacked the encampment at Stony Creek, were so closely pressed, that they must inevitably have been captured, had not the light troops, under adjutant general Scott and colonel Miller, been called in from the pursuit. The result of these errors was fruitful with the most evil consequences. The re-capture of all the im-

portant posts on the British Niagara, which had been taken at the expense of so much blood, and the destruction of the garrisons on the American side of that river, which happened not many months after, were among the least pernicious of a long train of disasters. A development which can only be produced by a gradual lapse of time, may enable the future historian to expose the mistaken policy upon which the deplorable causes were founded. No discovery has yet been made, from which the present recorder of these events can form any other idea, than that which is founded on uncertainty and conjecture; and these do not go to the constitution of such an authentic history of the war, as it has been his utmost endeavour to compile.

Whilst the troops were preparing to embark at York, for the expedition against fort George, the British at Kingston, having gained intelligence of their absence from Sacket's Harbour; of the batteries at that place having been principally dismantled; and of the smallness of the force which had been left for its protection; hastily collected all their disposables, and embarked on board their fleet, under the command of sir George Prevost: the fleet itself being commanded by sir James Yeo. On the night of the 27th of May, five hours after the capture of fort George, the British appeared off the entrance to the harbour. The American force consisted of 200 invalids, and 250 dragoons, then newly arrived, from a long and fatiguing march. Two small vessels, under lieutenant Chauncey, were stationed at its mouth, and gave instant signals of alarm, at the approach of the British squadron. Expresses were immediately forwarded to general Brown, then at his seat, 8 miles from the harbour, and he immediately repaired thither to take the command.

The tour of duty of the militia of his brigade, had expired many weeks before, but he had been requested by general Dearborn, to take command of the harbour, at any time when the enemy should approach it, and to provide for its defence. Immediately on his arrival, dispositions were made to that effect. The movements of the enemy indicated his intention to land on the peninsula, called Horse Island. General Brown therefore determined on resisting him at the water's edge, with the Albany volunteers, under colonel Mills, and such militia as could

be instantly collected. Alarm guns were therefore fired, and expresses sent out for that purpose. Lieutenant colonel Backus, of the first regiment of United States dragoons, who commanded at Sacket's Harbour in the absence of the officers who had proceeded to fort George, was to form a second line, with the regulars. The regular artillerists were stationed in fort Tompkins, and the defence of Navy Point was committed to lieutenant Chauncey.

On the 28th, the Wolfe, the Royal George, the Prince Regent, the Earl Moira, and 1 brig, 2 schooners, and 2 gun boats, with 33 flat bottomed boats and barges, containing in all 1200 troops, appeared in the offing, at five miles distance. They were standing their course for the harbour, when, having discovered a fleet of American barges, coming round Stony Point, with troops from Oswego, the whole of their boats were immediately despatched to cut them off. They succeeded in taking 12 of them, after they had been run on shore and abandoned by their crews, who arrived at the harbour in the night. The remainder, seven in number, escaped from their pursuers, and got safely in. The British commanders, being then under an impression that other barges would be sailing from Oswego, stood into South Bay, and despatched their armed boats to waylay them. In this they were disappointed; and during the delay which was caused by this interruption of their intended operations, the militia from the neighbouring counties collected at the harbour, and betrayed great eagerness to engage in the contest with the invading enemy. They were ordered to be stationed on the water side, near the island on which colonel Mills was posted with his volunteers. The strength at that point was nearly 500 men. But the whole force, including the regulars, effectives and invalids, did not exceed 1000. The plan of defence had been conceived with great skill, and if the conduct of the militia had proved to be consistent with their promises, it would have been executed with equal ability. Disposed of as the forces were, in the event of general Brown's being driven from his position at Horse Island, colonel Backus was to advance, with his reserve of regulars, and meet the head of the enemy's column, whilst the general would rally his corps, and fall upon the British flanks. If re-



sistance to the attack of the enemy should still fail, lieutenant Chauncey was to destroy the stores at Navy Point, and to retire with his two schooners, and the prize schooner, the Duke of Gloucester, which had been a few weeks before captured from the enemy, to the south shore of the bay, and east of fort Volunteer. In this fort the regulars and militia were to shut themselves up, and make a vigorous stand, as their only remaining resort. Every thing being thus ordered, general Brown directed his defensive army to lay upon their arms, whilst he continued personally to reconnoitre the shores of the harbour during the whole night of the 28th. At the only favourable point of landing, he had caused a breastwork to be thrown up, and a battery *en barbette*, to be erected. Behind this most of the militia were stationed.

At the dawn of the 29th, the enemy was discovered with his vessels drawn up in line, between Horse Island and Stony Point; and in a few minutes, all his boats and barges approached the shore, under cover of his gun boats, those being the heaviest of his vessels, which, in consequence of the lightness of the winds, could be brought up. The troops with which the boats were filled, were commanded by sir George Prevost in person. Commodore Yeo directed the movements of the barges. General Brown instantly issued his orders, that the troops should lay close, and reserve their fire until the enemy should have approached so near, that every shot might take effect. This order was executed, and the fire was so destructive, that the enemy's advance boats were obliged to make a temporary pause, and numbers of their officers and men were seen to fall. Encouraged by the desired effect of the first fire, the militia loaded their pieces with the utmost quickness, and the artillery was ordered to be opened at the moment of their second. But, before the second round had been completely discharged, the whole body of the militia, none of whom had ever seen an enemy until now, and who were entirely unaccustomed to subordination, though they were well protected by the breastwork, rose from behind it, and abandoning those honourable promises, which they had made but a little while before, they fled with equal precipitation and disorder. A strange and unaccountable panic seized

the whole line; and with the exception of a very few, terror and dismay were depicted on every countenance. Colonel Mills, vainly endeavouring to rally his men, was killed, as he was reminding them of the solemn pledges which they had given; but the fall of this brave officer served rather to increase their confusion, than to actuate them to avenge it.

General Brown seeing that his plan was already frustrated, and fearing his inability to execute any other, without the vigorous co-operation of the militia, hastened to intercept their retreat; and finding one company of about 100 men, who had been rallied by the active and zealous conduct of captain M'Nitt, of that corps, he brought them up, and ordered them to form in line with the regulars and volunteers, who had continued to keep their ground.

In the interval, which had thus elapsed, the enemy had effected his debarkation, with little opposition; and drawing up his whole force on Horse Island, commenced his march for the village; on the road to which, he was met by a small party of infantry, under major Aspinwall, and a few dismounted dragoons, under major Laval, who opposed him with much gallantry. Two of the gun boats ranged up the shore, and covered the field with grape. This handful of troops then gradually retired in good order, from an immense superiority of numbers, and occupied the intervals between the barracks.

Lieutenant colonel Backus, with his reserve of regulars, first engaged the enemy, when the militia company of captain M'Nitt was formed on his flank; and in the vigorous fight which then followed, this company behaved with as much gallantry as the bravest of the regulars. The whole force was compelled to fall back, however, by the superior strength of the enemy's column, and resorting to the barracks for what shelter they could afford, they posted themselves in the unprotected log houses, and kept up an incessant and effective fire. From these, the most violent assaults, and the repeated and varying efforts of the British, were incompetent to dislodge them. Colonel Gray, the quarter master general of the enemy's forces, advanced to the weakest part of the barracks, at the head of a column of regulars, and after exchanging shots with an inferior party of militia and regulars, led

his men on to the assault. A small boy, who was a drummer in major Aspinwall's corps, seized a musket, and levelling it at the colonel, immediately brought him to the ground. At that moment, lieutenant Fanning, of the artillery, who had been so severely wounded by the explosion at Little York, and was yet considered to be unable to do any kind of duty, leaned upon his piece whilst it was drawn up, and having given it the proper elevation, discharged three rounds of grape into the faces of the enemy, who immediately fell back in disorder.— At this instant, lieutenant colonel Backus fell, severely wounded.

Whilst the battle was raging with its greatest violence, information was brought to lieutenant Chauncey, of the intention of the American forces to surrender. He therefore, in conformity to his previous orders, relating to such an event, fired the navy barracks, and destroyed all the property and public stores, which had previously belonged to the harbour, as well as the provisions and equipments which had been brought from York. The destruction of these buildings, and the conflagration which was thence produced, was thought to have been caused by the troops of the enemy; and although the undisciplined militia and volunteers, and the invalid regulars, were suspicious of being placed between the fire of two divisions of the British, they continued to fight on, regardless of their inferiority, or the consequences of their capture.

General Brown was all this time actively superintending the operations of his little army. He now determined on making a diversion in its favour, which, if it should be successful, would be the only means of saving the place, or of relieving his exhausted troops. Having learned that the militia, who had fled from their stations in the early part of the engagement, had not yet entirely dispersed, and that they were still within a short distance of the scene of action, he hastened to exhort them to imitate the conduct of their brave brethren in arms. He reproached them with shameful timidity, and ordered them instantly to form and follow him, and threatened with instant death, the first man who should refuse.— His order was obeyed with alacrity. He then attempted a stratagem, by which to deceive the enemy, with regard to the forces against which he was contending.—



Silently passing through a distant wood, which led toward the place at which the enemy had landed, general Brown persuaded the British general of his intention to gain the rear of his forces, to take possession of the boats, and effectually to cut off their retreat.

This was done with such effect, at the moment when the fire of lieutenant Fanning's piece had caused the destruction in the British line, that general sir George Prevost was well convinced of the vast superiority of the American force to his own. He gave up all thoughts of the capture of the place, and hurrying to his boats, put off immediately to the British squadron. He was not pursued, because, if the real number of the American troops had been exposed to his view, he would have returned to the contest, might easily have outflanked, and in all human probability, would still have captured the army and the village.

But the precipitation of his flight was such, that he left not only the wounded bodies of his ordinary men upon the field, but those of the dead and wounded of the most distinguished of his officers. Among these were quarter master general Gray, majors Moodie and Evans, and three captains. The return of his loss, as accurately as it has been ascertained, amounted to 3 field officers, 1 captain, and 25 rank and file, found dead on the field; 2 captains, and 20 rank and file found wounded; and 2 captains, 1 ensign, and 32 rank and file made prisoners. In addition to which, many were killed in the boats, and numbers had been carried away previously to the retreat. The loss of the Americans was greater, in proportion as the number of their men engaged were less. One colonel of volunteers, 20 regulars, privates, and 1 volunteer private, were killed; 1 lieutenant colonel, 3 lieutenants, and 1 ensign of the regulars, and 79 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded; and 26 non-commissioned officers and privates missing. Their aggregate loss was 110 regulars, 21 volunteers, and 25 militia; making a total of 156. It was severe, because of the worth, more than of the number of those who fell. The injury in public stores, sustained at Sacket's Harbour, though not by any act of the invading enemy, was extensive; but the gallantry of several individuals prevented its being more so. Lieute-

nant Chauncey was no sooner apprised of the error of the report which had been brought to him, than he made every exertion to save as much of the public property as it was possible to rescue from the increasing conflagration, and to that effect, he ran the Fair American and the Pert up the river. The new frigate, the general Pike, which was then on the stocks, was saved; and lieutenant Talman, of the army, at the imminent risk of his life, boarded the prize schooner the Duke of Gloucester, which was then on fire, with a considerable quantity of powder in her hold, extinguished the fire, and brought her from under the flames of the storehouses.

Notwithstanding this signal repulse, the British commanding officers attempted to play off a stratagem, which sir James Yeo afterwards adopted at the Forty Mile Creek. They sent in a flag, with a peremptory demand for the formal surrender of the post, which was as peremptorily refused. After a forced march of 40 miles in one day, lieutenant colonel Tuttle had arrived with his command of about 600 men, just as the British were retreating to their boats, and was therefore too late to participate in the action. Other reinforcements were continually expected, and the harbour would be in a situation to make a more vigorous, though not, perhaps, a more brilliant defence. The return of the enemy, even under the advantages of more favourable winds, was, therefore, not looked for with any apprehension. A second flag was received by general Brown, accompanied by a request, that the killed and wounded of the British, might be treated with respect. In answer to this, the most satisfactory assurances of compliance were given.

After being compelled to relinquish the further prosecution of an expedition, having for its primary object the capture and destruction of a post, the permanent possession of which only, could give to the Americans any hope of a superiority on the lake Ontario; after having succeeded in his enterprise, in a degree which scarcely deserves to be termed partial; and after being obliged, by the predominance of his apprehension over his bravery and foresight, to retire from the assault, and precipitately to leave his dead and wounded to the mercy of his enemy; general sir George Prevost issued an official account to the people of Canada, and forwarded despatches to

his government, in each of which he laid claim to a brilliant and unparalleled victory; and alleged, that he had reluctantly ordered his troops to leave a beaten enemy, whom he had driven before him for three hours, because the co-operation of the fleet and army could not be effected. General Brown's stratagem had so far succeeded in deceiving him, that he reported the woods to have been filled with infantry and field pieces, from which an incessant, heavy and destructive fire had been kept up, by a numerous and almost invisible foe; more than quadruple in numbers to the detachments which had been taken from the garrison of Kingston; and that his loss was nevertheless very far inferior to that of his antagonist. Private letters, however, which were, about the same time, written from officers of these detachments, after relating that colonel Gray and two other officers had been killed, and that majors Evans, Drummond, and Moodie, and several captains and subalterns had been wounded, admitted that their total loss amounted to upwards of 150.

Had the result of the expedition against Sacket's Harbour, been of that character of unparalleled brilliancy, which would have entitled it to the encomiums of its commander, and to the warmest admiration of the British nation, its effects would have been long and deplorably felt by the American government. Immense quantities of naval and military stores, which had been from time to time collected at that depot; the frames and timbers which had been prepared for the construction of vessels of war, and the rigging and armaments which had been forwarded thither for their final equipment; as well as all the army clothing, camp equipage, provisions, ammunition, and implements of war, which had been previously captured from the enemy, would have fallen into his hands. The destruction of the batteries, the ship then on the stocks, the extensive cantonments, and the public arsenal, would have retarded the building of another naval force, and that which was already on the lake in separate detachments, could have been intercepted, in its attempt to return, and might have been captured in detail. The prize vessel which was then laying in the harbour, and which had been taken by the Americans, and the two United States' schooners, would have been certainly recaptured, and the whole energies of the American gov-



ernment, added to their most vigorous and unwearied struggles, might never again have attained any prospect of an ascendancy on the lake. As it proved, however, all these impending evils were averted, and the wisdom of the commanding officer, and the invincible firmness of those of his troops, who withstood the brunt of the action, converted that event into a splendid victory, which would otherwise have been an irretrievable disaster.

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## CHAPTER X.

*General Dearborn retires from the command of the Northern army—Command of Fort George devolves on general Boyd—Capture of the Lady Murray—Destruction ofodus—Attempt to land at Oswego—Affair at Beaver Dams—Escape of the militia prisoners from the head of the lake—Massacre of lieutenant Eldridge—Affair between the British Indians and young Cornplanter—British again attack Black Rock—Capture of an enemy's gun boat—Fort George invested—American outposts attacked—Second expedition to York—British capture the Growler and Eagle—Enter Champlain village, and destroy the private houses—Chase of the British fleet on Lake Ontario—Encampment at Fort George, and re-possession of Newark by the enemy—He retires to his entrenchments—Capture of a British officer, by an American sentinel.*

THE increasing indisposition of general Dearborn having rendered him unfit for active duty, he resigned the command of the northern army, and retired to his residence. General Lewis had repaired to Sacket's Harbour, to act in concert with commodore Chauncey, who had returned to that place, and was making active preparations to restore the batteries and buildings to their former condition. The command of fort George, and the dependencies of that place and fort Niagara, devolved on general Boyd.

On the 14th of June (1813), lieutenant Chauncey was ordered to proceed in the *Lady of the Lake*, to cruise off *Presque-isle*, and to intercept the enemy's transport vessels. On the 16th, he fell in with and captured the British schooner the *Lady Murray*, then bound from Kingston to York, with an English ensign, and 15 non-commissioned officers and privates. She was loaded with provisions, powder, shot, and fixed ammunition, and was brought into Sacket's Harbour on the 18th. Her crew consisted of 6 men.

On the same day, the British fleet appeared before the town of Sodus, on a bay of that name, which is formed on the American side of lake Ontario, between Genessee and Oswego rivers. General Burnet of the New York militia, -suspecting that they intended to land their troops, and capture a quantity of provisions, ordered out a regiment from the county of Ontario. The militia collected in great haste, and arrived at Sodus on the following morning. But the enemy, well knowing that his appearance would excite the alarm of the inhabitants, drew off his forces until their apprehensions should be subsided, and re-appeared on the evening of the 19th, a few hours after the militia had been discharged. In contemplation of his return, the inhabitants had removed all the public stores from the buildings on the water's edge, to a small distance in the woods, and on the re-appearance of the hostile squadron, a second alarm was immediately given, and expresses sent after the discharged militia, which overtook and brought them back, with a large reinforcement. Before their return, the enemy had landed, and finding that the provisions had been removed, they set fire to all the valuable buildings in the town, and destroyed most of the private property of every description.— They then agreed to stipulate with the inhabitants, to desist from destroying the remaining houses, on condition of their surrendering the flour and provisions, which they knew had been deposited at that place. These articles were then not more than 200 yards from the village, yet the enemy did not choose to attempt their capture, lest he might be drawn into an ambuscade; but he threatened the entire destruction of every house in the town, if they were not immediately delivered over to him. The appearance of the militia, prevented the execution of

this threat, and the enemy immediately returned to his shipping, and moved up the lake on the following morning.

On the 20th (June), the whole fleet approached Oswego, and made several attempts to land their troops, but they returned each time to their shipping, upon seeing that the troops at that place were prepared to meet them. The American force at that time, consisted of 800 militia, and a small party of regulars, under command of lieutenant colonel Carr, by whose skilful management, the enemy were persuaded that the post was garrisoned by a numerous body of troops, and they became extremely cautious in their operations. Fearful of being overpowered, they relinquished their intention of landing, and withdrew from before the place. Lieutenant Woolsey, of the Oneida, and other naval officers and seamen, were at Oswego, and had previously removed the stores from that place to Sacket's Harbour. The fleet then proceeded to the neighbourhood of fort George, where it lay for several days.

A few days previously to the departure of general Dearborn from that post, a body of the enemy had collected on a high ground, about eight miles from Queenstown, for the purpose of procuring supplies, and of harassing those inhabitants who were considered to be friendly to the United States. On the 28th, a party of troops, consisting of 500 infantry, a squadron of dragoons, a company of New York mounted volunteers, and captain M'Dowell's corps of light artillery, being in all about 600 men, under command of colonel Børstler, were detached from the American encampment, at fort George, for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of the enemy, and of breaking up their encampment at the Beaver Dams. The British force which was stationed there, was composed of one company of the 104th regiment, about 200 militia, and 60 Indians, amounting to 340 men. At about 8 o'clock on the morning of the 24th, 9 miles west of Queenstown, the American detachment was attacked from an ambuscade. The action commenced with the dragoons, who were placed in the rear. Captains Machesney and Roach's companies of infantry, were instantly brought into a position to return the enemy's fire to advantage, and very soon after drove them



a considerable distance into the woods. The Indians then made a circuitous route, appeared in front, and opened a fire upon the mounted riflemen who were stationed there. They were immediately repulsed, and again retired to the woods. Every attempt was then made to draw them into the open ground, but without effect. A few of the boldest of them, ventured from their lurking places, but were immediately compelled to fly to them again for shelter. The enemy's force was now continually augmenting, and he was every instant gaining a superiority. A retreat was then ordered for a short distance, which was effected with trifling loss.

Colonel Børstler, then suspecting that he was surrounded by a very superior and numerous force, despatched an express to general Dearborn for reinforcements, and informed him of his intention to maintain his position until they should arrive. Colonel Christie was ordered to proceed immediately with the 15th regiment, and a company of artillery, to the support of colonel Børstler; but he had not proceeded farther than Queens-town, when he was informed that the latter had surrendered his detachment.

The express had scarcely been forwarded, when lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who commanded the British militia and Indians, rode up to colonel Børstler, with a flag, and informed him, on the honour of a British soldier, that the regular force, commanded by lieutenant colonel Bishop, was double that of the Americans, and that the Indians were at least 700 in number. Colonel Børstler, trusting to the veracity of the officer; fearing the impracticability of escaping; and being unwilling to abandon his wounded, agreed to terms of capitulation, by which the wounded were to be treated with the utmost tenderness, the officers to be permitted to wear their side arms, private property to be respected, and the volunteers to be paroled, and permitted to return to their homes.

Lieutenant colonel Bishop was not on the ground at the time when this capitulation was effected, as the British lieutenant had asserted on his honour, but arrived there in time to confirm the articles of surrender. These were no sooner agreed upon, than they were violated; the officers being deprived of their side arms for the gratification of the Indians, who robbed them also of their coats,

and whatever ornaments of dress they coveted. No possible account of the number of killed or wounded, on either side could be obtained. Colonel Bærstler was slightly wounded, and captain M'Chesney, of the 6th, severely, in repelling the attack of the Indians.

Colonel Christie returned to fort George, with information of this disaster, and the British moved down upon Queenstown, occupied that place and its neighbourhood, and in a few days afterwards invested the American camp, having been previously joined by all their forces from the head of the lake.

General Vincent was stationed at Burlington Heights, with a small force, and general De Rottenburg lay encamped at the Ten Mile Creek.

The New York mounted volunteers were detained at the head of the lake, in violation of the article which provided for their parole. On the 12th (July), they were ordered to Kingston, to be kept there as prisoners of war. They were for this purpose embarked in two boats, under a guard of men, and a lieutenant. When within 12 miles of York, they rose upon the guard, and after a struggle of a few minutes, carried both boats, and shaped their course for fort Niagara. After rowing nearly all night, and escaping from an enemy's schooner with great difficulty, they arrived safely with their prisoners. In effecting this daring escape, major Chapin, who commanded the volunteers, gave the signal to his men, by knocking down the British lieutenant, and personally encountering two of his soldiers, whom he fortunately subdued, and kept in restraint until the second boat lay along side of him.

Subsequently to the event at Beaver Dams, several affairs of outposts took place, which, though not quite so important in their consequences, were equally as brilliant as any of the occurrences, which had previously transpired on the Niagara frontier. Among them was a severe skirmish, brought on by an attack which had been made upon two of the outposts of the American encampment at fort George, on the 8th of July, by the combined force of the British and Indians. It had no sooner commenced, than adjutant lieutenant Eldridge of the 13th, was ordered to the support of the outposts, with a small detachment of 39 men: whilst a larger body was preparing to follow him, under the command of major Malcolm. The impetuosity of

lieutenant Eldridge led him into a thick wood, where a superior force of the British and Indians lay in ambush, and after an obstinate, but fruitless struggle, his party were entirely defeated, five only out of the whole number escaping: thirteen were killed or wounded, and the remainder taken prisoners. At the first onset, the enemy was repulsed; but at the second, he pressed upon and surrounded the little party, with the whole of his numerous force. All the prisoners, including the wounded, were then inhumanly murdered, and their persons treated in so barbarous a manner, that the most temperate recital of the enemy's conduct may, perhaps, scarcely obtain belief. The feelings of the most obdurate reader, of a much more distant period, cannot but be excited to the highest degree of indignation, and those of the writer are not at all to be envied, when necessity obliges him to describe the sufferings of his countrymen, by the relation of facts which stand too well authenticated before him. The same enemy who had not long ago implored the mercy of the American officer to be extended to his British prisoners, now fell upon the defenceless captives of this party, and scalped their heads whilst they were yet alive, split open their skulls with their tomhaws, tore their hearts out of their bodies, and stabbed and otherwise mutilated them. Lieutenant Eldridge was supposed to have experienced the same treatment. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, having informed the garrison that he had been led wounded into the woods, between two Indians, a flag was sent out on the next day, to ascertain his fate; which soon after returned, with an answer, that lieutenant Eldridge, having killed one of the Indian chieftains, the warriors of his tribe had retaliated this supposed act of treachery, by putting him to instant death. But this reply was ascertained to have been a subterfuge of the enemy, to evade the necessity of accounting for a prisoner, who was known to have been taken alive.

The commission of this, and other outrages of the same nature, by the enemy, at length induced the American commander, general Boyd, to receive a party of the *Seneca* and *Tuscarora* tribes into the service of the United States, by way of intimidating the British and Indians, and of preventing a recurrence of their barbarities. Shortly after they had rendezvoused at fort George, and had



covenanted not to scalp or murder any of the enemy's prisoners who might fall into their hands, they were joined to a party of volunteers, and sent to cut off one of the outposts of the enemy, whose principal encampment was upwards of two miles from the fort. The American Indians were commanded by major Henry O'Ball, or *Young Cornplanter*, who succeeded in capturing and bringing in 12 of the British Indians, and 4 of their white troops, with a loss of only 2 Indians killed.

The army at fort George was at this time in a state of inactivity; a war of outposts only being carried on, which, though resulting in various success, was of use to the undisciplined divisions of the encampment.

On the morning of the 11th July, a British regular force crossed the Niagara below Black Rock, and moved up with great rapidity, to the attack of that post. The militia who were stationed there, immediately fled in considerable numbers; a few of them, however, stood their ground, and immersing from a wood, at seventy yards distance from the enemy, annoyed him very severely.— But this annoyance was not regarded by the British, who entered the place, set fire to the barracks, the block house and other buildings, spiked several pieces of cannon, and took off a quantity of provisions. Whilst carrying the property to their boats, they were attacked by a force of regulars, militia, and a few Indians, who poured upon them a very destructive fire. The enemy's force amounted to 250 men, nine of whom, and a captain (Saunders) of the 41st, were left upon the shore. The force which was brought against them, was precisely equal to their own. They retired partially to their boats, and in putting off from the shore, lost upwards of 50 in killed and wounded. Among the latter, was lieutenant colonel Bishop, mortally.

On the 17th a small expedition of volunteers, and about 40 soldiers, left fort George in two small row boats, proceeded to the head of the St. Lawrence, and captured a gun boat mounting one 24 pounder, 14 batteaux loaded with property, and 4 officers and 61 men.

On the same day an outwork of the American garrison, was attacked by 200 British and some Indians. Colonel Scott was sent out to oppose them. He took one field-piece into an open field, and assisted by lieutenant Smith,

after a contest of one hour, succeeded in driving off the enemy. Majors Armstrong, Cummings, captains Towson, Madison, Vandalsem, and Birdsall, the former of whom was wounded, were also actively engaged. The American loss amounted to four killed, and as many wounded.

Besides the militia, under major Chapin, who had been captured at the Beaver Dams, several parties of regulars, made prisoners at the same place, also effected their escape, in consequence of the refusal of the enemy to parole them. On the 27th, a large boat arrived at fort George, with 1 lieutenant and 8 Canadian militia, who had been taken by 3 United States regulars and 5 New York militiamen, as the former were conducting them to Kingston. About the same time, a boat with 14 of colonel Børstler's men, and 2 of the enemy, arrived from York. They communicated intelligence of the severe treatment which the American prisoners experienced there, and general Boyd and commodore Chauncey determined on an expedition to that place.

On the 28th commodore Chauncey sailed with colonel Scott and about 300 men. They landed at York, captured or destroyed the public property and stores of the enemy, and after burning the barracks, which had been spared at the capture of that place in April, under an impression that their liberality would be appreciated by the enemy, they re-embarked, and returned unmolested to fort George, bringing with them all the sick and wounded of colonel Børstler's men, whom they could find.

A few weeks preceding this affair the United States armed vessels the Growler and Eagle were captured, after a desperate engagement of three hours and an half, with a number of British gun boats, and detachments from the garrison at *Isle aux Noix*. The action took place near Ash Island, on the river *Sorelle*, or *Richelieu*, or that part of lake Champlain which empties into the St. Lawrence. The schooners were commanded by lieut. Sidney Smith, and were the only armed vessels, excepting a few gun boats, and small barges, which constituted the American naval force on lake Champlain. Their capture therefore, gave the enemy the entire ascendancy on that lake. The British stated their loss at 3 men wounded. The loss on board the schooners was 1 killed and 8 wounded.

Availing themselves of the advantages thus gained, the British equipped and refitted the captured vessels, and cruised along the shores of lake Champlain, committing every species of depredation upon the property of the inhabitants. On the 30th of July, they crossed the line at Champlain with two sloops of war, three gun boats, and forty batteaux, having on board a force of 1400 men. On the 31st they arrived, and landed at Plattsburg. The militia were immediately called out, but not more than 300 collected; and there is no account of their having shown any kind of resistance to the invaders. The British troops who were commanded by colonel Murray, assured the inhabitants of Plattsburg, that their private property should be respected. But after destroying the block house, the arsenal, the armory, the public hospital, and the military cantonment, they wantonly burned several private store houses, and carried off immense quantities of the stock of individuals. On the 1st of August they embarked, and stood out of the bay; thence they proceeded to the town of Swanton, in Vermont; landed a part of their force, and committed several outrages of the same character.

The American and British fleets, now well appointed and equipped, were both on lake Ontario. Commodore Chauncey being within sight of fort George, and sir James Yeo sailing in that direction, on the 7th of August they came within sight of each other. The British fleet consisted of six sail, the American of twelve, the majority of them being very small. Commodore Chauncey immediately weighed anchor, and manœuvred to gain the wind. Having passed the leeward of the enemy's line, and being abreast of his van ship, the Wolfe, he fired a few guns to ascertain whether he could reach the hostile fleet. The shot falling short, the commodore wore, and hauled upon a wind on the starboard tack; the rear of the schooners being then about six miles astern. The British commodore wore also, and hauled upon a wind on the same tack; but observing that the American fleet would be able to weather him on the next, he tacked again and made all sail to the northward. Commodore Chauncey pursued him; the chase continued until night. The schooners could not get up, and a signal was given to give up the pursuit, and to form in close order. At mid-



night 2 of the schooners were missing, (the Hamilton and Scourge) both of which had overset and sunk in a heavy squall: 16 men only escaped drowning. The fleet lost by this unfortunate accident, two excellent officers, lieutenant Winter and sailing master Osgood, a number of fine seamen, and 19 guns; and the enemy thence gained a great superiority. On the morning of the 8th, he was discovered bearing up with an intention of bringing the Americans to action. Commodore Chauncey then directed the schooners to sweep up and engage him. When the van was within one mile and a half of the enemy, he bore up for the schooners in order to cut them off; but in this he did not succeed. He then hauled his wind and hove too. A squall coming on, and commodore Chauncey being apprehensive of separating from the heavy sailing schooners, he ran the squadron in towards Niagara, and anchored outside the bar. Here he received on board from fort George 150 soldiers, and distributed them through the fleet to act as marines. Before 12 o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the commodore discovered the enemy's fleet, and stood for him, and after manœuvring until 11 o'clock, at times pursuing him and being pursued by him, the rear of the line opened its fire on him. In 15 minutes the fire became general on both sides. At half past 11, the weather line bore up, and passed to the leeward, except the Growler and Julia, which soon after tacked to the southward, and brought the British between them and the remainder of the American fleet, which then edged away to engage the enemy to more advantage, and to lead him from the Growler and Julia. Sir J. Yeo having separated the two vessels from the squadron, exchanged a few shot, in passing, with the General Pike, (Commodore Chauncey's ship) without injuring her, and pursued the schooners. A firing commenced between them, and was continued until 1 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, when the schooners surrendered, and the fleets lost sight of each other. Soon after daylight, they again became visible; but no disposition being shown by the enemy to come down on commodore Chauncey, he shortly after ran towards Sacket's Harbour, to provision the squadron, and arrived there on the 13th.

About this time sir George Prevost joined the army, then investing fort George, and meditated an attack upon the American forces. Captain Fitzgerald of the 49th, assailed an outpost on the Niagara, and after gaining the rear of the guard, was fired on and charged by captain Davenport, of the 16th United States' infantry, who cut his way through Fitzgerald's party, rallied his own, and made prisoners of 10 men. At this moment captain Deleno, of the 23d, came up and captured Fitzgerald, who was then wounded. The whole line of outposts was at this instant attacked and driven in. Captain Vandalsem, of the 15th, who commanded the outpost upon Butler's road, was cut off by the enemy; but hastily forming his small party, he desperately forced his way through a superior body, and brought his guard safely into the garrison. The British forces gained possession of the town of Newark, and skirted the woods opposite fort George, within gun-shot of the American camp. Brigadier general Williams, who had a few days before arrived at that post, advanced from the works with his brigade, but after a trifling skirmish, he was ordered back by general Boyd, and the troops were directed to act only on the defensive. The British soon after retired to their intrenchments, then about 2 miles distant. The loss of the garrison on this occasion, amounted to 30, in killed, wounded, and missing. The capture of captain Fitzgerald and his men was the only loss which the enemy is known to have sustained.

Affairs of outposts, in which the character of the American arms was not in the least diminished, were now occurring daily. Colonel Brearley, and other officers of the different regiments, distinguished themselves; and a spirit of emulation pervaded the whole American line.—Orders had been issued to the sentinels, to permit no one to pass within their chain, without the knowledge of the commanding officer. But a British officer, in passing from the left to the right of his encampment, having by mistake approached the American line, induced a sentinel to violate these orders. Thomas Gray, a private of the 15th, who at this time happened to be on guard, seeing the error into which the enemy's officer was likely to fall, permitted him to enter the line of sentinels before he challenged him, when the officer immediately surrendered. He

proved to be captain Gordon, of the Royal Scots, and was conducted to general Boyd, who afterwards presented the sentinel with a silver cup, engraved with inscriptions, commemorative of the event by which it had been won.—The American army sustained about this time a serious loss in the death of colonel Christie, at fort George, and of lieutenant colonel Tuttle, at Sacket's Harbour—both of whom died of severe illness.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*The Northwestern Army—British appear again before Fort Meigs—Defence of Fort Stephenson, Lower Sandusky—Capture of the British fleet on Lake Erie—Northwestern Army reinforced from Kentucky—Is transported by the American fleet to Canada—Capture of Malden—The Americans enter Sandwich—Pursue the British up La Tranche—Skirmish in Chatham—Battle of the Thames—Defeat and capture of general Proctor's Army—Escape of that officer—Death of Tecumseh—Destruction of the town—The army sails for, and arrives at Buffalo.*

THE combination of the British forces on the Niagara; the augmentation which they were daily receiving by reinforcements from the interior of Upper Canada; and the rumours thence sent forth, of an intended coalition between these, and the army of general Proctor, from Detroit; all contributed to persuade the American commanders, that the enemy had become regardless of the defences of the garrisons of Detroit and Malden; and that their leading object, for the accomplishment of which they had determined to draw together every species of troops within the province, was the expulsion of the American forces from the Canadian territory. But the vigilance of the commander in chief of the northwestern army, enabled him not only to discover the enemy's real design, but that their regulars and a great body of the In-



dians, were at that time concealed in the neighbourhood of forts Meigs and Stephenson, and feeling confident of their expectations that the regulars of his army would be ordered forward to the aid and co-operation of the army of the north; or, that the militia would be called from a tour of duty, which would thence be deemed unnecessary to perform; general Harrison extended his defensive arrangements, and enlarged his forces by new requisitions upon the governors of the contiguous state and territory. He was still engaged at his head quarters at Seneca, in fixing the destination of the new troops, as they arrived, and in distributing them throughout the different posts.—Fort Meigs was placed in an excellent state for vigorous defence, and active exertions were making to fortify fort Stephenson. To the entire equipment of the latter, many difficulties presented themselves, and its situation was considered to be so defenceless, that general Harrison directed the commandant to destroy the public property, and immediately to abandon the fort, if the enemy should at any time appear before it.—During the month of July (1813), the assembled tribes of Indian warriors, under *Tecumseh*, (who was reported to have then received the commission and emoluments of a brigadier general) and a considerable force of regulars, under general Proctor, had been well trained for an expedition, the object of which was to reduce fort Stephenson, and thence to proceed to a second investment of fort Meigs. *Tecumseh* was despatched with 2000 warriors and a few regulars, to make a diversion favourable to the attack of Proctor and Dixon, upon fort Stephenson. He approached fort Meigs, and kept up a heavy firing at a distance, in order to persuade the garrison that an engagement had taken place between the Indian forces and a part of general Harrison's division. By the arrival at fort Meigs, of an officer from the head quarters, this scheme was fortunately frustrated; and *Tecumseh* then approached the garrison, and surrounded it with his whole force.

From Seneca town scouting parties had been sent out in every direction, along the shores of Sandusky bay, with instructions to keep up a continual communication with the commander in chief. On the morning of the 1st of August, he was informed of the approach of the enemy to the mouth of the bay; fort Stephen-

son, situated twenty miles above, evidently being their object. Early in the evening, the combined forces, consisting of 700 Indians, under Dixon, and 500 regulars under general Proctor, who commanded in chief, appeared before the fort. The gun boats, from which they had landed, were at the same time drawn up, to bear upon one of its angles. General Proctor immediately disposed his troops so as to surround the garrison, and entirely to cut off its retreat. His immense superiority of numbers, enabled him to invest it so perfectly, that the American troops, whose whole effective force did not amount to 160 men, had no probable prospect of cutting their way through; and major Croghan, who had been promoted to the command of this post, for his gallant conduct at the siege of fort Meigs, having already disobeyed the orders of the commander in chief, by not destroying and abandoning the fort, had made arrangements to repel an assault, by cutting a deep ditch, and hastily constructing a stockade work around it. Being ably supported by his officers and men, he determined on defending the garrison, though he should sell the life of every soldier. The British general, having completed the disposition of his army, attempted to obtain possession of fort Stephenson by artifice. He sent forward a flag by colonel Elliot, whose character is yet in the memory of the reader, accompanied by the same major Chambers, who had before demanded the surrender of fort Meigs, and an Indian chief, whose enmity to the Americans was violent. This flag was met at a few paces from the garrison, by ensign Shipp of the 17th, to whom general Proctor's demand, of an immediate and unconditional surrender, was delivered, and from whom the enemy received major Croghan's answer, of a determination not to yield, but with the loss of all his men. Colonel Elliot then attempted to seduce the ensign from his duty, by various artifices, which were followed by a threatened slaughter of the garrison, on further refusal to surrender. The young American turned from his apostate countryman, Elliot, with disgust, and was immediately seized upon by the Indian chief, who attempted to disarm him. The resistance of the ensign, and the interference of Elliot and Chambers, prevented this outrage, and major Croghan being apprehensive about the safety of his officer, instantly ordered him to be called

into the garrison. The enemy then opened his fire from the gun boats, and a five and a half inch howitzer, and continued the cannonade throughout the night. On the morning of the 2d, three 6-pounders were discovered to have been planted at a distance of 250 yards from the stockade, and in a few minutes after, an unsuccessful fire was opened upon the fort. The British general feeling his inability to annoy the garrison, from the situation in which his artillery was then placed, and being convinced that he could neither make an impression upon the works, nor ever hope to carry them by storm, unless a breach could be made in the northwest angle of the fort, ordered all his guns to be directed at that point. A rapid fire was kept up against it for several hours; but major Croghan, being aware of his design, detached as many men as could be usefully employed, to strengthen that angle: by means of bags of sand, of flour, and other articles, it was effectually secured. Under a supposition that his fire had shattered the stockade work, which was not at all injured, general Proctor ordered lieutenant colonel Short to lead up a close column of 350 regulars, of the 41st regiment, to storm the fort at that point, whilst a second column should make a feint upon that part of the American line, which was commanded by captain Hunter, of the 17th. This attempt to draw the attention of the garrison from the northwest angle did not succeed. The troops posted there were ordered to remain firm: and, when the column, which was advancing against them, had approached within 20 paces of the lines, before which time it was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be observed, they opened a heavy and galling fire, threw the advancing party in confusion, and intimidated that which was reserved for the attack on the other angle of the fort. The British battery, which was then enlarged by two other 6-pounders, was again opened, and sustained the advance of the two columns, by an incessant, though equally unsuccessful fire as the former. Colonel Short rallying his men with great alacrity, again led them up, advanced to the stockade, and springing over the pickets into the ditch, commanded the whole column to follow, and assault the works with the utmost vigour, but to give *no quarter* to any of the American soldiers.

At the northwestern angle stood a block-house, in



which a 6-pounder had been heretofore judiciously concealed. It was at this instant opened, and having previously been pointed so as to rake in that situation, a double charge of leaden slugs was fired into the ditch, and sweeping the whole column, the front of which was only thirty feet distant from the piece, killed colonel Short, and almost every man who had ventured to obey his order. A volley of musketry was fired at the same time, and great numbers of the enemy who had not yet entered the ditch, were severely wounded. The officer who succeeded colonel Short in the command of the broken column, immediately rallied and formed it anew, and led it on to the same fatal point. A second fire from the destructive 6-pounder, was poured upon it with as much success as the first; and the small arms were discharged so briskly, that the enemy's troops were again thrown into confusion, and not all the exertions of the British officers could bring them up to another assault. They fled precipitately to an adjoining wood, and were very soon followed by the Indians. In a few minutes the firing entirely ceased: and an army much more than ten times superior to a small garrison, was compelled to relinquish an attack, the successful issue of which, was not at all doubted by any one of its officers.

A strong degree of terror prevailed among the collected forces. The Indians were enraged and mortified at this unparalleled defeat; and carrying their dead and wounded from the field, they indignantly followed the British regulars to the shipping. General Proctor abandoned his wounded, and left the dead bodies of his most distinguished officers, among whom was colonel Short, in the ditch.—During the night of the 2d, major Croghan received as many of the wounded enemy through the port hole as were able to approach it, and to those who could not, he threw out provisions and water.

On the morning of the 3d, the gun boats and transports sailed down the bay, and guards of soldiers were immediately afterwards sent out to collect and bring into the fort all the wounded, and to bury the enemy's dead with the honours to which, by their rank, they were entitled. 70 stand of arms, several braces of pistols, and a boat containing much clothing and military stores, which had been left in the hurry of the enemy's flight, were then

taken. The loss of the assailants was reported to have been not less than 150; that of the garrison, was 1 killed, and 7 slightly wounded.

The brilliancy of this affair procured for the officers and men, the thanks of the government, and the unfeigned applause of all parties in the union. Major Croghan was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and was presented with a sword by the ladies of Chilicothe. His precaution and activity prevented a very important, though weak post, from falling into the hands of the enemy; and gave a powerful check to their plan of operations, for the remaining part of the campaign. The commander in chief, whose positive orders he had ventured to disobey, yielded him his warmest approbation, and recommended to the early notice of the department of war, *a young soldier of 21 years, who had baffled the most ingenious efforts of the British general*, and had sustained his various assaults for 36 hours. Besides major Croghan, the garrison contained 7 officers, all of whom distinguished themselves. Captain Hunter was second in command, and resisted the attacks of the second British column, as well as of the Indians. Lieutenants Johnson, Bayler, and Meeks, of the 17th, and Anthony, of the 24th and ensigns Shipp and Duncan, of the 17th were stationed at different places in the garrison, and acquitted themselves with great credit.

General Harrison had no sooner been apprised of the approach of the enemy toward fort Stephenson, than he sent orders for the immediate march of 250 volunteers, from Upper Sandusky, and put in readiness all the infantry at Seneca, under generals M'Arthur and Cass. Scouts were instantly forwarded to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, but in consequence of the strong disposition of the Indian forces, they were unable to approach the garrison, and were met by general Harrison and his dragoons, between Seneca town and fort Stephenson. Here the retreat of the enemy, under Proctor, and the investment of fort Meigs by *Tecumseh* were first heard of, and the general directed M'Arthur and Cass to fall back to Seneca town, for the protection of the sick, and the provisions. But two days after, *Tecumseh* and his Indians, followed the steps of Proctor and Dixon, and all apprehensions about the safety of the military hospitals were, therefore, removed.

The American fleet on the lake Erie, having been completed, and, with great difficulty, passed over the bar, a principal part of the crew of each vessel being made up of the Pennsylvania militia, who had volunteered to go on an expedition, sailed on a short cruise, for the purpose of training the guns, and of exercising the sailors. In the latter part of August, commodore Perry proceeded to the mouth of Sandusky river, to co-operate with general Harrison. At this place, about 70 volunteer marines were received on board, and the fleet sailed in quest of the British squadron. The latter was, at that time, near Malden, before which place commodore Perry appeared, and after reconnoitring the enemy, he retired to *Put-in-bay*, a distance of 30 miles, in hopes of drawing out his antagonist.

On the morning of the 10th of September, of the same year, 1813, the enemy was discovered, bearing down upon the American squadron, which immediately got under weigh, and stood out to meet him. The superiority of force was greatly in favour of the British, though they had not an equal number of vessels. Their crews were larger, and the length and number of their guns greater, than those of the American squadron. The latter consisted of the brig *Lawrence* (flag vessel) of 20 guns; the *Niagara*, captain Elliot, of 20; the *Caledonia*, lieutenant Turner, of 3; the schooner *Ariel*, of 4; the *Scorpion*, of 2; the *Somers*, of 2, and 2 swivels; the sloop *Trippe*, and schooners *Tigress* and *Porcupine*, of 1 gun each; making a fleet of 9 vessels, of 54 guns, and 2 swivels. The British squadron consisted of the ships *Detroit*, commodore Barclay, of 19 guns, and 2 howitzers; the *Queen Charlotte*, captain Finnis, of 17, and 1 howitzer; the schooner *Lady Prevost*, lieutenant Buchan, of 13, and 1 howitzer; the brig *Hunter*, of 10; the sloop *Little Belt*, of 3; and the schooner *Chippewa*, of 1, and 2 swivels: making a fleet of 6 vessels, and 63 guns, 4 howitzers, and 2 swivels.

When the American fleet stood out, the British fleet had the weathergage; but at 10 o'clock, A. M. the wind shifted, and brought the American to windward. The line of battle was formed at 11; and at 15 minutes before 12, the enemy's flag ship, and the *Queen Charlotte*, opened upon the *Lawrence* a heavy and effectual fire, which she was obliged to sustain upwards of ten minutes, without a possibility of returning it, in consequence of her bat-



tery being of carronades. She nevertheless continued to bear up, and having given a signal for the other vessels to support her, at a few minutes before 12 opened her fire upon the enemy. The wind being too light to assist the remainder of the squadron in coming up, the Lawrence was compelled to fight the enemy's heaviest vessels upwards of two hours. The crew were not at all depressed; their animation increased, as the desperation of the fight became greater, and the guns were worked with as much coolness and precision, as if they had been in the act of training only. The slaughter on board the brig was almost unparalleled, the rigging very much injured, and the braces entirely shot away: and at length, after every gun had been rendered useless, she became quite unmanageable. The first lieutenant, Yarnall, was thrice wounded; the second lieutenant, Forrest, struck in the breast; the gallant lieutenant Brookes, of the marines, and midshipman Laub were killed, and sailing master Taylor, purser Hamilton, and midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout, wounded. Her loss already amounted to 22 killed, and 61 wounded; when the commodore, seeing that she must very soon strike, if the other vessels were not brought up, gave the command of the Lawrence to lieutenant Yarnall, and jumping into a boat, ordered it to be steered for the Niagara, to which vessel he had determined to shift his flag. In passing from the Lawrence to the Niagara, he stood up, waving his sword, and gallantly cheering his men, under a shower of balls and bullets. He gained the Niagara, unhurt, at the moment the flag of the Lawrence came down; and the wind having at that instant increased, he brought her into action, and at 45 minutes past 2, gave signal for the whole fleet to close. All the vessels were now engaged, but as the superiority of the enemy had been increased by the loss of the Lawrence, the commodore determined on piercing his line with the Niagara. He therefore resolutely bore up, and passing ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, poured a galling and destructive fire into each from his starboard side, and into the Chippewa and Little Belt, from his larboard. He was then within half pistol shot, and as he cut through the line, the commander of the Lady Prevost, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself at the battle of the Nile,

received a musket ball in his face, and the crew being unable to stand the fire, immediately ran below. At this moment the *Caledonia* was struggling to get closer into the action, and her commander, lieutenant Turner, ordered her guns to be fired through the foresail, which interfered between him and the enemy, rather than lose the chance of a full share in the combat, and was only prevented from attempting to board the *Detroit*, by the prudent refusal of the officer of another small vessel to assist him.

The action was now raging with its utmost violence; every broadside fired with the most exact precision, and the result of the conflict altogether uncertain. In addition to the loss of the *Lawrence's* guns, one of the *Ariel's* had burst, and the enemy had then the superiority of 34 guns. This doubtful aspect, however, soon after changed. The *Queen Charlotte* had lost her captain, and all her principal officers; and having, by some mischance, run foul of the *Detroit*, most of the guns of both vessels became useless. In this situation, advantage of which was immediately taken by commodore Perry, they were compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the *Niagara*, and other vessels of the American squadron. The British commodore's flag was soon after struck, and those of the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Lady Prevost*, the *Hunter*, and the *Chippewa*, came down in immediate succession. The whole fleet surrendered to the inferior squadron, with the exception of the *Little Belt*, which attempted to escape, but was pursued by two of the gun boats, and captured at a distance of three miles from the squadron.

Thus, after an action of three hours, in which the individual gallantry of either fleet, had never been surpassed by any naval event now to be found on the record of history, was the entire command of this important lake, yielded to the American arms. To the future operations of the northwestern army, every prospect of success was thrown open, and the recovery of the lost territory became no longer doubtful. Commodore Perry informed his government, that it had "*pleased the Almighty to crown their arms with success;*" and attributed the issue to the gallant conduct of his officers, his men, and the volunteers on board. Among them are to be found the names of captain Elliot, lieutenants Turner, Edwards and Forrest, and midshipmen Laub, Claxton, Swartwout,

Clark and Cummings. Of the conduct of lieutenants Yarnall\* and Brookes, and purser Hamilton, the latter of whom worked as a common sailor at a gun, the best evidence has been given—the admiration of the whole of their own squadron, as well as that of the enemy.

The number of killed and wounded in both fleets was excessively great. Commodore Barclay was wounded in the hip, and lost the use of his right arm: the other had been shot off in a former action. The loss on board his squadron exceeded 200. The American loss amounted to 27 killed, and 96 wounded. The captured vessels were convoyed to the bay of Sandusky, and the prisoners, 600 in number, conducted to Chilicothe. Among these, were a few companies of the British 41st regiment, who had been taken on board to act as marines.

The result of this brilliant conflict, was immediately followed by active and extensive preparations for the expulsion of the enemy from Detroit, the entire subjugation of Malden, and the overthrow of general Proctor's army. These objects achieved, the operations on the Niagara and St. Lawrence would be rapidly facilitated, and the most plausible prospects held out to an expedition against Montreal. Governor Meigs had made a call upon the militia of Ohio, as soon as he was informed of the attack upon fort Stephenson, and upwards of 15,000 volunteers were very soon under arms. Many of these were not yet discharged, and general Harrison now required a proportion of them. At the mouth of Portage river, he intended that his whole army should be concentrated; and between that point and Sandusky bay, he caused fences of logs to be constructed for the protection of the horses and baggage. The governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby, arrived at the new head quarters of the army on the 17th of September, with 4,000 well mounted volunteers. The works at fort Meigs being reduced, and garrisoned by a few men, general M'Arthur marched from that post with his brigade, and joined the main body also. Thus strengthened, general Harrison determined on invading the enemy's shores; and, at the dawn of the

\* This gallant young officer has since been lost, in the United States brig Epervier, on her passage from the Mediterranean with despatches.



21st he ordered his forces to embark at the mouth of the river, and to rendezvous at the different islands, which lay in clusters between Malden and the point of embarkation. To colonel Johnson, who commanded a Kentucky mounted regiment at fort Meigs, he gave orders to proceed to Detroit by land; arrangements having been first made, by which that officer and the commander in chief, were to be informed of each other's progress by daily expresses.

On the 27th the troops were received on board the fleet, now enlarged by the captured vessels. They were embarked at a small island, about 20 miles from Malden, called the Eastern Sister, and one of two islands to which the names of the Sisters had been given. In the afternoon of the same day, the fleet which was composed of 16 vessels of war, and upwards of 100 boats, arrived at a point 3 miles below Malden. Here the troops were landed in good order, and with perfect silence, and proceeded thence to Amherstburg.

The British general, well aware that the American commander would early avail himself of the advantages lately gained by the capture of the fleet, had made preparations to retire into the interior of Canada, to a place of better security than Malden. He was apprised by his *estafette*, of the approach of general Harrison, and having first set fire to the fort, and destroyed every article of public property, he ordered his forces, which were still composed of British regulars, and *Tecumseh* and Dixon's Indians, to retreat towards the Thames, and thence along its course to the Moravian towns. The fort, the barracks, and other public buildings, were still smoking, when the American army entered Amherstburg, and a number of females came out to implore protection from its commander.—They received it. The guns of the batteries had been previously sunk, one only remained on an island opposite Malden, and that had been left in the confusion of the enemy's retreat to the Thames.

Amherstburg had heretofore been the repository of Indian spoil, and the principal depot of Indian presents. The tribes had been continually provided with munitions of war, from the garrison there; and rewarded at that post for the outrages committed by them, at various times, upon the people of the adjoining American territories. The

previous sufferings of the citizens of the frontier, had all been derived from the activity of British traders, who were proprietors of the property and soil; yet though almost every volunteer of the American army had been affected, either in his possessions, in his own person, or in that of his relatives, by the incursions and outrages of the enemy, the inhabitants of Amherstburg were protected from violence, and their individual property honourably respected. Highly, and frequently, as the indignation of these troops had been excited, they were still determined to contrast their conduct here, with that of the British and Indians at the river Raisin; and, the house and grounds, therefore, of the most active officer at that scene, colonel Elliot, suffered not the least molestation.

On the 28th, the army crossed *La Rivière aux Canards*, the bridge over which the enemy had not stopped to destroy, and arrived at Sandwich on the following day, the fleet moving at the same time through the river Detroit to that place. Governor Shelby's command then occupied the point at which the first invasion of Canada had been attempted, whilst the remainder of the army crossed over to the delivery of the town of Detroit, out of the possession of the British Indians, who immediately abandoned the garrison, and retreated in different directions. General Harrison, knowing that large numbers of warriors, under *Split-Log*, were collecting in the woods near Huron of lake St. Clair, directed general M'Arthur to remain with most of the regulars, in the occupation of Detroit, whilst he would pursue the army of general Proctor up the Thames.

Colonel R. M. Johnson's regiment had arrived at Detroit on the day after its occupation by the American army; and having concentrated this force, with a part of colonel Ball's regiment of dragoons, and the whole of governor Shelby's volunteers, the commander in chief, on the 2d of October, pursued the enemy's route. Such was the rapidity of his movement, that he encamped in the evening of the same day at the river *Riscum*, a distance of 26 miles from Sandwich. Early on the morning of the 3d, he resumed his march, and being accompanied by general Cass and commodore Perry, as acting aids, he proceeded in the advance with Johnson's regiment, in order to secure the bridges on the rivers, tributary to lake

St. Clair. By the capture of a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had been left in general Proctor's rear, with orders to take up every bridge, by which the approach of Harrison's army could possibly be facilitated, one bridge was saved, and the American general learned that the enemy had no "certain information of his advances up the 'Thames.'" Within eight miles of this river, at Drake's farm, the army encamped for the night, and its baggage followed thus far, in the transports of the squadron.

On the morning of the 4th, the army again proceeded on its route, and having reached Chatham, 17 miles from lake St. Clair, found its progress obstructed by a deep and unfordable creek, the bridge of which had been partially destroyed by a body of Indians who now made their appearance, and fired on the front guard. They had taken a position on the opposite side of the creek, and flanked the American army on the right bank of the river. General Harrison made immediate arrangements to disperse or capture them. Colonel Johnson was already stationed on the right of the line, and had seized the ruins of another bridge, under a smart fire from the Indians on that flank. Major Wood was directed to bring up his artillery, and cover the *pioneers*, who were repairing the first bridge. This he did with unexpected success. The Indians could not withstand the heavy discharges of artillery, and they therefore retired without much regard to the order of their retreat. The bridge was quickly repaired, and the army, having first extinguished the flames of a farm house, which had been fired by the Indians, and captured from it 2000 stand of arms and a quantity of clothing, crossed over the creek, pursued the enemy four miles up the river, annoyed his rear guard, and took from him several pieces of cannon. This skirmish continued one hour, in which time two men of the army were killed, and six wounded; whilst thirteen were killed on the side of the enemy. Besides muskets, cannon, and clothing, he lost three vessels, loaded with ordnance stores and arms, which the approach of the Americans obliged him to destroy.

On the 5th, the pursuit was eagerly renewed, and attended by the capture of two gun boats, and several barges, loaded with provisions and ammunition. Having



attained the ground on which the enemy had encamped the night before, the commander in chief directed colonel Johnson to hasten the march of his advance guard, and to send forward an officer to reconnoitre the situation of the combined British and Indian forces. This officer very soon after, returned with intelligence that the enemy were prepared for action, in an open ground, within four miles of the American main body. The road upon which general Harrison was then marching, entered a thick and extensive forest on the beach. A short distance from the bank of the Thames, was a miry swamp, which extended to the Moravian town, and between this swamp and the river, was a level plain, through which, because of the thick underwood in the forest, the army would be obliged to make its approaches. Across this plain, the British line was drawn up, with its left resting on the river, supported by the greatest proportion of their artillery, its centre being protected by two heavy pieces, and its strength, in regulars, amounting to 600: 1200 Indians were formed along the margin of the swamp.

When general Harrison had come up with the main body, and was advised of the advantageous situation of the enemy, he ordered colonel Paul, with 150 regulars, to occupy a space between the road and the river; to advance upon, and divert the enemy, and on an opportunity, to seize the cannon which defended his left flank. Lieutenant colonel James Johnson was directed to form major Payne's battalion of the mounted regiment, and major Suggett's three spy companies, into six charging columns, immediately in front of the British line of regulars and an Indian flank: whilst general Henny's division of infantry, should be stationed for his support in his rear. Colonel R. M. Johnson was charged with the formation of another battalion, in front of the Indians, that were arrayed on the margin of the swamp. He accordingly dismounted one company, under command of captain Stucker, with which he stretched a line in face of the Indians, and ordered major Thompson to form the remaining four companies, on horseback, into two charging columns of double files, immediately in the rear of the line on foot. The left of this battalion was supported by the infantry of general Desha.

Thus disposed, with the main army in their rear, these

divisions moved forward to the attack. The British gave the first fire, upon which the charge was quickly ordered, and in a few moments the enemy's line was pierced by upwards of 1000 horsemen, who, dashing through the British regulars with irresistible speed, either trampled under foot, or cut down every soldier who opposed them; and having killed and wounded upwards of 50, at one charge, instantly formed in their rear, and repeated the attack. Such was the panic which pervaded the whole line of the enemy, that an order which had been issued to fix bayonet, was not attempted to be executed: and in a little while, colonels Evans, Warburton, and Baubee, and majors Muir and Chambers, surrendered with 472 prisoners. The charge had no sooner been made, than general Proctor, fearing the consequences of his conduct in Michigan, if he should be taken in this battle, abandoned his command, and made his escape in a carriage, under a strong escort of dragoons.

Whilst this brilliant charge was making on the right, the action was raging with great violence on the left.—Between the Indians there, and the mounted men and infantry drawn up against them, it was longer and more obstinately contended. The Indians were commanded by *Tecumseh*, who fought with more than his accustomed skill, and having posted his warriors in the best possible situations to repulse an attack, he indicated his willingness to receive the assault of the American cavalry. Colonel Johnson, who saw that the Indians would dispute the ground with more bravery than the British regulars, placed himself at the head of his battalion, and led it up to a vigorous charge upon *Tecumseh's* flank. That chief at the same moment dealt out a tremendous fire, which, though severe in its effect, did not retard the movement of the advancing columns. But the difficulty of penetrating the thicket and swamp, threw an impediment in the way of a successful result to an onset with dragoons, and the attempt to break the Indian line, in consequence failed. An engagement immediately took place, however, in which, after exchanging several rounds with *Tecumseh's* band, colonel Johnson ordered both his columns to dismount, and leading them up a second time, he made a desperate, but successful effort, to break through the Indians. Having gained the rear of their line, his next or-

der directed his men to fight them in their own mode. The contest became now more obstinate. Notwithstanding their line had been thus pierced, and their warriors were falling in considerable numbers, the Indians did not think themselves yet discomfited, and quickly collecting their principal strength upon the right, they made an attempt to penetrate the line of infantry under general Desha. In this they had partially succeeded, a part of that line having faltered, when governor Shelby brought up three companies of his volunteers to its support, and, in turn, threw back the Indians.

Meanwhile colonel R. M. Johnson had been five times wounded,\* and in that state, covered with blood, and exhausted by pain and fatigue, he personally encountered *Tecumseh*. The colonel was mounted on a white charger, at which, being a conspicuous object, the Indians had continually levelled their fire. A shower of bullets had fallen round him; his holsters, his clothes, and most of his accoutrements, were pierced in several places; and at the instant when he discovered *Tecumseh*, his horse received a second wound. *Tecumseh* having discharged his rifle, sprang forward with his tomhawk, and had it already raised to throw, when colonel Johnson's horse staggered back, and immediately the colonel drew forth a pistol, shot the Indian through the head, and both fell to the ground together.†

The wounded colonel being then removed from the field, the command of that battalion devolved on major Thompson, who continued to fight the whole body of the Indians (then upwards of 1000), more than an hour, and eventually put them to flight. In their attempt to gain the village, through the level plain, they were pursued, and numbers of them cut down by the cavalry.

The Americans being now masters of the field, their gallant commander, who had been in every part of the action, directed the wounded officers and men of both armies, to be taken care of; and the trophies of the vic-

\* Colonel Johnson survived his wounds, and yet represents the state of Kentucky, in the national legislature.

† It has been frequently doubted, whether the Indian, who thus attacked the colonel, was *Tecumseh*.—That chief was found dead, however, upon the field of battle, and with such a wound, as is described to have been given to colonel Johnson's antagonist.



tory to be collected and conveyed to the squadron.— Among these, were several pieces of brass cannon, which had been taken from Burgoyne, at Saratoga, in the struggle for the independence of the states, and surrendered again by general Hull, 35 years afterwards, at Detroit.

In the battle of the Thames (5th October, 1813), the number of Americans engaged did not exceed 1400. The nature of the ground, rendered an operation by the whole force impracticable, and the main body therefore formed a corps of reserve. They sustained a loss of 50, in killed and wounded. The number of the former, among whom was a brave old soldier of the revolution, colonel Whitley, then serving as a volunteer private in a Kentucky regiment, amounted to 17. The enemy lost in regulars alone, upwards of 90 killed, and about the same number wounded, and surrendered in all 600 prisoners. Among the Indians, 120 were killed, including their brave, but ambitious and inveterate leader.

A squadron of horse, which had been ordered in pursuit of Proctor, immediately after his flight, returned to general Harrison with the baggage and private papers of the British commander, which they had taken within 100 yards of his escort. By the speed of his horses, and his knowledge of the country, he successfully eluded his pursuers.

The result of this victory was highly advantageous, not only to the operations of the army below, but to all the northwestern territories; some of whose inhabitants were released from the restraint of a conquered people, and had now a favourable prospect of future tranquillity. By this event, the whole British force in that part of Canada, was destroyed; the association, with each other, of the different tribes, hostile to the United States, prevented; and their reunion with the enemy entirely cut off. By the fall of the *Shawanoë* chief, the Americans were disencumbered of their most powerful, inveterate, and experienced Indian enemy; and a sudden check was given to the spirit of barbarian enterprise, to which that frontier had hitherto been subject. *Tecumseh* was a bold, intrepid, and active leader, whose undeviating practice it was, never to take a prisoner. He was ever ready to conceive a daring and inhuman design, and would execute it with unprecedented and remorseless perseverance. His ruling

passion was the plunder and annihilation of the people whom he believed had encroached upon, and gradually deprived his ancestry of their soil. But, when he undertook an expedition, accompanied by his tribe, he would relinquish to them the spoil, though he would never yield the privilege of destroying the victim. To the Indians of all other tribes, as well as to that among whom he was born, the loss of a leader like *Tecumseh*, on whose capacity and conduct as a warrior, they could always rely, and who would encourage and assist in their cruelties, was therefore irreparable. Such, indeed, was the effect of his death, upon the tribes generally, that many of the chiefs of most of the nations, having no confidence in any other leader, gave themselves up to the conquering general, and negotiated with him terms of peace, in which he stipulated that his government should not be expected to subsist their warriors.

On the day following that on which the battle of the Thames was fought, general Harrison destroyed the Moravian town, and commenced his march for Detroit, where he negotiated terms of peace with other tribes, and received a flag from general Proctor, accompanied by a request, that humane treatment might be extended to the British prisoners. This request had been anticipated by the American general, who had already given up the simple comforts of his own tent, to the wounded British colonels, and had instructed his troops before the battle, that the person of *even general Proctor* should be respected, if, by the fortune of the day, it should be thrown into their hands.

At Detroit, governor Shelby's volunteers, and the twelve months' men, were all honourably discharged. The fort was garrisoned by 1000 men, under general Cass, who was appointed provisional governor of the Michigan territory; and the civil law was restored to the condition in which it was at the time when general Proctor instituted other ordinances, for the government of the inhabitants.

In the event of his success against Proctor, the commander in chief had been directed by the war department to join the northern army on the Niagara; and accordingly, having besides these arrangements, stationed a respectable force at Malden and Sandwich, on the 23d of

October, he embarked in the squadron of lake Erie, with all his disposables, and sailed for the village of Buffaloe, where he arrived before the beginning of November.

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## CHAPTER XII.

*Plan of operations on the St. Lawrence—Concentration of the forces on Grenadier Island—British abandon the investment of Fort George—Descent of the St. Lawrence—Skirmishes in its course—Battle of Chrystler's field—The left wing of the Northern Army retires to winter quarters—The right wing marches through the Chateaugay woods—Is attacked by the British—Engages and repulses them—Goes also into winter quarters—The Americans evacuate Fort George, and destroy Newark—Surrender of Fort Niagara—Destruction of Lewistown and Buffaloe.*

CORRESPONDENT with these movements of the north-western army, a plan of operations on the St. Lawrence, had been concerted by the united talents of the war department, which had been transferred to the frontier, and general Wilkinson, who, having succeeded to the command of the army of the north, had established his headquarters at fort George. By this plan; the capture and occupation of Montreal and Kingston, the grand rendezvous of the British land forces, and the only secure harbour for their naval armaments, was contemplated; and the result of its successful execution, could not fail of being fruitful with advantages to the future movements of the army, and the contemplated conquest of the province of Lower Canada. The late overthrow of general Proctor in the upper province, increased the expectations of the department and the army, and held out to each, the most certain prospects of eventual success. Two obstacles, however, presented themselves to the entire fulfilment of these expectations. The lateness of the season, which, in a country where the winter commences



with great severity, would raise up insurmountable obstructions to the movements of troops; and the difference of opinion between the commanding general and the secretary of war, as to which post should be the first object of assault. Each being tenacious of his own opinion, and both anxious for the consummation of the concerted scheme, it became necessary to hasten the impending operations, by the adoption of one or the other. The deliberation of a council of war was proposed. To obviate the first difficulty, the removal of the second was indispensable, and the necessity of an immediate decision, upon a question involving the interests of the expedition, became more obvious. A council was therefore organized, and conceiving that the success of the design, depended on an early movement of the designated force, they decided, without hesitation, on a descent upon Montreal.

Arrangements were then adopted to collect and concentrate the different regiments on Grenadier island, a point between Kingston and Sacket's Harbour, which had been assigned as the best rendezvous, because of its contiguity to the head of the St. Lawrence. Orders were forwarded to fort George, to colonel Scott of the artillery, who had been left, by general Wilkinson, in command of that post, to embark his artillery, and colonel Randolph's regiment of infantry, on board a vessel of the squadron, and to proceed to the island. The general had left the garrison of fort George, on the 2d of October (1813), with the largest portion of the troops, who were now awaiting the arrival of the remainder, at the rendezvous, and had been actively employed in providing clothing, and other equipments necessary to the soldiers, in the course of their movement down the river. Between Grenadier island and Sacket's Harbour, he had made frequent voyages, to see that the troops were well bestowed at the former, and that the different detachments, which almost daily arrived at the latter, were immediately despatched thence. He had caused a sufficient number of boats to be prepared to convey the artillery through the St. Lawrence; and having assigned the command of Sacket's Harbour to lieutenant colonel Dennis, he thence proceeded to put the troops in motion at the island.

By this time (the 23d) the force at that place amounted to nearly 8000 men, and was composed of colonel Moses

Porter's light artillery; a few companies of colonel Scott's (2d) regiment of artillery; colonel M'Comb's (3d) regiment of artillery; the 5th regiment of infantry; the 6th, commanded by captain Humphreys; the 11th; the 12th, colonel Coles; the 13th, commanded by colonel Preston of the 23d; the 14th, lieutenant colonel Dix; the 15th, colonel Brearley; the 16th, colonel Pearce; the 21st, colonel Ripley; the 22d, colonel Brady; the 25th; and major Forsythe's rifle corps.

Having issued the necessary orders, general Wilkinson resolved on moving on the 25th; and although the gales which had prevailed for several days, continued with unabated violence, and were now attended with heavy rains, his anxiety to promote the issue of the expedition, induced him to order the embarkation of the troops; and, struggling against a disorder which had rendered his health extremely precarious, he remained on the island until the embarkation was nearly completed, directing the boats to take advantage of the momentary pauses of the storm, to slide into the St. Lawrence.

A few days before, intelligence had been forwarded by colonel Scott, of the enemy having evacuated the intrenchments in the neighbourhood of fort George, and of their having burnt, and otherwise destroyed all their camp equipage and many stand of arms, in order to facilitate the march of their troops to Kingston; to which place they had been ordered, as soon as general Wilkinson's contemplated movement was discovered. They had been apprised of the intentions of the American general previously to the 9th, and, on that day, they abandoned the whole peninsula on the Niagara; and directed their attention to the defence of Kingston, against which they supposed the Americans would move. To keep that impression alive, and to confine their plans to the protection of Kingston only, general Wilkinson fixed on French creek, which lays immediately opposite the point at which the British suspected he would land, as the general rendezvous of the troops, after their entrance into the St Lawrence. Brigadier general Brown (now of the United States' regulars) was ordered forward to command the advance of the army at that place; and the rear was soon after strengthened by the arrival at Grenadier island, of the 20th regiment, under colonel Randolph.

On the 1st November the enemy appeared at French creek, with a squadron of four large vessels, and a number of boats filled with infantry, and attacked the detachment at that place in the evening. General Brown hastily made arrangements to defend his position, and after a short cannonade the enemy's vessels were compelled to retire, by a battery of three 18 pounders, which had been erected, and managed with great spirit, by captains M'Pherson and Fanning, of the artillery. The enemy fell down to a convenient harbour, and renewed his attack on the following morning. By the same judicious arrangements he was again repulsed, and a few hours afterwards the American squadron entered the St. Lawrence, and took a position near French creek, to command the north and south channels. On the 3d and 4th the rear of the army arrived at the general rendezvous. On the 5th, the flotilla of transports got under way, and arrived without accident, below Morrisville.

On the 6th, the commander in chief ordered the flotilla to descend with the whole army, to a point within 3 miles of Prescott, and directed the powder and fixed ammunition to be debarked, and transported by land, under cover of the night, below the enemy's batteries. Before either of these orders were put in execution, he proceeded in his gig (a small boat) to reconnoitre the place, and having concluded that the safest passage of the troops would be effected on shore, he ordered the debarkation of every man, except the number necessary to navigate the boats, and the army marched by night, two miles below Prescott. Arrangements were also made for the passage of the flotilla, to the same point; and general Brown, being the general officer of the day, was charged with the superintendence. Availing himself of a heavy fog, which came on at 8 o'clock in the evening, the commander in chief, believing he could pass the enemy's fort unobserved, put the flotilla and the marching columns in motion, at the same instant; and proceeded in his gig, followed by his passage boat and staff, ahead of the former. An unexpected change of the atmosphere, enabled the enemy's garrison to discover the boats, and the columns upon land, whose movements had been simultaneous. Nearly fifty 24 pound shot were fired at the general's passage boat, and the columns were assailed with a great number of shot and



shells. Neither of these attacks were successful; and the only injury sustained by the Americans, was one man killed, in one of the boats. The flotilla had been halted by general Brown, as soon as the firing was heard, and it did not resume its course until the setting of the moon; when, in attempting to pass, at the same place, it was attacked also. It nevertheless pursued its passage to the place of destination, under a heavy, though ineffectual fire, of 3 hours. During all this time, of 300 boats, of which the flotilla was comprised, not one was touched by a ball; and before 10 o'clock of the 7th. they all safely arrived at the designated rendezvous. From this place, the commander in chief forwarded an order to general Hampton, commanding the left division of the northern army, to form a junction, with the division then descending the St. Lawrence.

On the 7th, the difficulties in this descent increased. The indisposition of the general became alarming. The passage of the troops was delayed half a day, in extricating two schooners from the river near Ogdensburg, which were loaded with provisions, and had been driven to that place by the enemy's fire. In the course of the morning, the commander in chief had been informed, that the coast below was lined with posts of artillery and musketry, at every narrow pass of the river. He therefore detached colonel M'Comb, with the *elite* corps of about 1200 men, to remove these obstructions. At 3 in the afternoon, the army followed. Immediately after passing the first rapid of the St. Lawrence, the passage boat of the general was again attacked by two pieces of light artillery, which colonel M'Comb had not observed in his march. No other injury was done, however, than the cutting of the rigging, the attention of these pieces being diverted from that object, by lieutenant colonel Eustis, and a few light gun barges, between whom and the enemy, a cannonade was kept up, without effect on either side. But major Forsythe, who was in M'Comb's rear, having landed his riflemen, and advanced upon the enemy, 3 pieces were precipitately carried away. About 6 miles below the town of Hamilton, the flotilla came too, and the general received intelligence of colonel M'Comb having routed the enemy at a block house, 2 miles lower. The dragoons

which were attached to the first division of the army, had by this time assembled at a place called the White House, situated at a contraction of the river. On the morning of the 8th, the flotilla proceeded to this point, and after having ordered general Brown to go forward with his brigade to reinforce colonel M'Comb, and to take command of the advance of the army, general Wilkinson directed the transportation of the dragoons across the St. Lawrence. This business was completed in the course of the night.

Not long after the descent of this river was commenced by the American army, the British troops, who had been concentrated in the vicinity of Kingston, having discovered that that post was not the object of the expedition, immediately proceeded to Prescott. The day following that on which the Americans had passed this village, the British commandant sent a flag over to Ogdensburg, with a demand for the delivery of all the public property there, under the penalty of the immediate destruction of the town. Without waiting, however, for a compliance with this demand, the enemy embarked about 1500 troops and followed general Wilkinson's descent, with an intention of annoying his rear. On the 9th, they had so far gained upon it, as to bring on a skirmish between the American riflemen and a party of British militia and Indians. After having killed one man, the enemy were completely repulsed.

In the course of this day, the cavalry, with 4 pieces of artillery, under captain M'Pherson, were attached to the command of general Brown, who was ordered to clear the coast below, as far as the head of the "*Longue Saut*." After being obliged to halt several hours, by the rapidity of the current, to enable general Brown to make good his march, in time to cover the movement of the flotilla, general Wilkinson arrived at a point called the Yellow House, which stands near the *saut*.

On the morning of the 10th, he ordered general Brown to prosecute his march, with all the troops under his command, except 2 pieces of artillery and the 2d dragoons. A regard for the safety of the men, induced the commanding general to *march* as many of them as possible, as the passage of the *Longue Saut* would be dangerous. This regiment, therefore, as well as all the men of the other

brigades, with the reservation of a proper number to navigate the boats, were assigned to general Boyd, who was ordered to take necessary precautions to prevent the enemy hanging on the rear, from making an advantageous attack; and if attacked, to turn upon, and if possible, to beat them. General Brown, in obedience to these orders, marched with the advance, then consisting of about 1800 men, and composed principally of colonel M'Comb's artillery, some companies of colonel Scott's regiment, part of the light artillery, the riflemen, and the 6th, 15th, and 22d regiments. At a block house near the *saut*, which had been erected to harass the flotilla in its descent, he was engaged by a strong party of the enemy, with whom he contended for a few minutes, and at length compelled them to retire. This repulse was effected entirely by major Forsythe, who was severely wounded in the engagement. General Brown then took a position near the foot of the *saut*. At the same time a number of British galleys and gun boats approached the flotilla, now at the shore, and commenced a cannonade. The galley mounted a long 24-pounder, which materially injured the American barges, and it became necessary to run two 18-pounders on shore, and form a battery to resist the enemy's attack. One shot from this battery obliged the British to retire up the river; and it being then too late to trust the flotilla to the *saut*, the current in which allows no chance to land, or to pursue any other than its own course, the barges lay too until the morning of the 11th.

At 10 o'clock on that day, the flotilla was prepared to sail; and the division under general Boyd, consisting of his own, and generals Covington and Swartwout's brigades, was already formed in marching order, when an alarm was heard from the gun-boats, and the commanding general was apprised that the enemy were advancing in column. The increasing indisposition of general Wilkinson rendered him incapable of taking the field. General Lewis having declined the command, in consequence of being ill also, general Boyd was ordered to turn upon, and attack the British force. The enemy's gun-boats were advancing at the same time, with a view to attack the rear of the flotilla, as soon as it should move off.—The officers having it in charge, were therefore directed not to leave the shore. General Boyd advanced upon



the enemy, with his detachment, formed in 3 columns, and forwarded a body of general Swartwout's brigade, consisting of the 21st regiment, to meet and bring the enemy to action. Colonel Ripley, with this regiment, ranged through the woods, which in a semicircle, skirted Chrystler's field, and drove in several parties of the skirmishers. Upon entering the open field, he discovered the British advance, consisting of the 49th and Glengary regiments. With these he immediately commenced an action, in which he twice charged these united regiments, either of which was more than equal to the 21st, and drove them over the ravines and fences by which Chrystler's field was intersected; when they fell upon their main body. Meanwhile, general Covington had advanced upon the enemy's right, where his artillery had been planted; and at the moment when the 21st assailed the British left flank, this brigade forced the right by a vigorous onset, and the result of the action was now looked to with great certainty. The gallant conduct of general Covington attracted the attention of a party of sharpshooters stationed in Chrystler's house, one of whom levelled his piece and shot him from his horse. The wound proved to be mortal, and in two days after the general died. The fall of their commander threw that brigade into confusion, and it very soon broke before the enemy's artillery; and together with the 16th, took shelter behind the 21st, which were still engaged with the British left and centre. Four pieces of artillery had been planted to *enfilade* the enemy's right, but out of reach of support; and, when Covington's brigade fell back, the British commander wheeled part of his line into column, to attack and capture them. A body of dragoons, under the adjutant general Walbach, attempted, in a very gallant manner to charge the British column, but the nature of the ground prevented its being checked, and the intervention of the 21st, between the cannon and the enemy, alone retarded his advance. The British then fell back with much precipitation. The 25th, which had been disordered, was at this time in a ravine; and on all parts of the field, skirmishes and detached battles were kept up with various success. The 21st being out of ammunition, was withdrawn from the exposed positions of the ground, and a second attempt was soon after made

upon the cannon. The death of lieutenant William W. Smith, of the light artillery, who commanded one piece, enabled the enemy to capture the only trophy they obtained. The coolness and bravery of captain Armstrong Irvine, saved the remaining pieces, which he brought off the field. The action immediately after ceased. It had been fought with distinguished gallantry, by about 1700 undisciplined men, against the same number of British veterans, and its duration was upwards of two hours. The enemy's force consisted of detachments from the 49th, 89th, 104th, the voltigeurs, and the Glengary regiment. These retired to their encampment, and the Americans to their boats.

The American loss on this occasion amounted to 339, 102 of whom were killed; among these were lieutenants Smith, Hunter, and Olmstead: the loss in wounded was swelled by the rank and worth of the officers on that list, general Covington; colonel Preston; majors Chambers, and Cummings; and captains Foster, Townsend, Myers, and Campbell, being among the officers composing it: of those who distinguished themselves, none were more conspicuous than captain Irvine, and lieutenant Mahon of the 16th, who planted the first American ensign on the Canadian shore at the assault and capture of fort George.

In this battle, the victory was claimed on both sides. An impartial examination of the result, however, will lead to the conclusion that it was a drawn battle; or that, if any advantages occurred to either party, they were decidedly gained by the Americans. The front of the enemy had been forced back more than a mile in the early part of the action, and it never regained the ground thus lost. To use the words of the American general, his views and those of the British commander "were precisely opposed. The first being bound by the instructions of his government, and the most solemn obligations of duty, to precipitate his descent of the St. Lawrence, by every practicable means: and the last, by equally imperious duties, to retard, and if possible, to prevent such descent. If then, he (the British commander) found himself victorious on this day, it was certainly in his power to have effected the one or the other object, and as he made no attempt to effect either, it follows incontestibly that he had no fair ground on which to claim a victory."

So far from obstructing the further descent of the river, the enemy never again assailed the column upon land, or the barges of the flotilla. Early on the morning of the 12th, the army proceeded on its route, and reached Barnhart, near Cornwall, where it rejoined the advance. At this place general Wilkinson received a letter from general Hampton, in which he declined a meeting at St. Regis, the place named in the orders which had been sent to him on the 6th, and informed the commander in chief that he intended to march to lake Champlain, and thence to co-operate in the attack upon Montreal. General Wilkinson immediately concluded that it would be useless to prosecute his route to Montreal any further, and that every prospect of a desirable termination of the campaign was destroyed. He therefore summoned together the principal officers of that division of the army, with which he was acting, who determined that the receipt of this despatch, rendered it expedient that the army should quit the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, and go into winter quarters at French Mills, on Salmon river, which it accordingly did on the 13th instant. After having surmounted many perilous difficulties, in the descent of a river, crowded with various obstructions, the further prosecution of its passage was thus entirely abandoned, by the united determination of the commander in chief, and his council of war.

Whether the refusal of general Hampton to form a junction with general Wilkinson, at the St. Regis, instead of adopting his own plan of marching by Champlain and Cognawago, should have prevented the prosecution of the campaign to its original object, does not come within the province of these sketches to discuss. It is the business of the writer of them to be studiously impartial, and he does not hesitate to acknowledge his belief, that many circumstances are yet to transpire, before the public opinion can be regulated.

Whilst general Wilkinson was engaged in concentrating the left division of the army at Grenadier island, preparatory to the descent of the St. Lawrence, general Hampton had determined on moving the right division from Champlain down the Chateaugay, for the purpose of obtaining a situation, from which it could with more facility co-operate in the contemplated movements against



Montreal. On the 21st of October he put his troops in motion, having first arranged a line of communication as far up the St. Lawrence as Ogdensburg. An extensive wood, filled with hewn timber, and covered with the Indians and the enemy's light troops, threw an impediment in the way of the engineers, who were to cut a road for the passage of the artillery and stores. General Izard had been detached with the light troops, and one regiment from the line, to turn them in flank, and to seize on the open country below. In this he succeeded; and the main army, advancing on a circuitous road, reached the advanced position on the evening of the 22d. At a distance of seven miles from the ground on which the army encamped, was a wood which had been formed into an *abbatis*, and was filled with a succession of breastworks, the rearmost of which was well supplied with ordnance. Behind these, the disposable force of the enemy was placed; in front of them the light troops and Indians. Sir George Prevost was supposed to be the commander in chief of the forces and breastworks thus arranged. It was resolved to attack and dislodge him. Colonel Purdy, who commanded the 1st brigade, was ordered on the 25th, to ford the river, and march down on its opposite side, until he should reach the enemy's rear, where he was to recross the river, and attack him in his breastworks; whilst the 2d brigade, under general Izard, was to assail him in front. The fire from one was to be the signal of attack for the other. Colonel Purdy accordingly marched down on the opposite bank, but had not proceeded far, when he received a countermanding order from general Hampton, issued in consequence of a communication from the quarter master general's department, which the general deemed unfavourable to the prosecution of his plan.

In attempting to return to the place at which he had previously crossed the river, colonel Purdy was attacked by the enemy's infantry and Indians, who were repulsed, after a short contest, though they had thrown the American column into partial confusion. The British at the same time came out of their works, to attack the 2d brigade on the opposite side. They were repulsed at this point also, and general Izard drove them rapidly behind their defences. The 1st brigade attempted the construc-

tion of a bridge of logs, and though it was assailed by a considerable force of the British regulars, and received a sharp fire across the river, the bridge was completed, and colonel Purdy recrossed his men. He was again attacked, and several times resisted the charges of the enemy. The army commenced a retreat, after losing about fifty men; and as general Hampton received an account of the enemy being continually reinforced, he resolved, on the advice of a council, to retreat to the Four Corners. The army, accordingly, on the 31st, returned to a position which it held many days before. In these various skirmishes, majors Snelling and Wool were particularly distinguished.

A *petite guerre* was kept up on the lines by Col. Clark, who commanded a regiment of infantry, acting as riflemen, which had already, on several important occasions, been of great annoyance to the enemy. But this incur-sive warfare was stopped soon after the return of general Hampton's division, and all the troops under his command were put into winter quarters, in the course of the month of November, and the command assigned to general Izard.

Not long after the departure of general Wilkinson from fort George, that post fell successively to the command of colonel Scott, general Harrison, and general M'Clure, of the New York militia; under each of whom frequent skirmishes took place. In one of these, colonel Wilcocks, with the Canadian volunteer mounted regiment, behaved with personal bravery, and gave an augury of the services which the American government might expect from this new species of troops.

On the 10th December (1813), it was ascertained that the enemy had collected a force of 1500 regulars, and at least 700 Indians, and were proceeding on their march to fort George, to expel the Americans from the garrison and the shores. The remnant of an army, of which the garrison was at that time composed, rendered the post altogether untenable, and general M'Clure determined on destroying the town of Newark, and the batteries by which it was protected, and evacuating fort George, with a view to posting himself at fort Niagara. Accordingly, having first given the inhabitants full notice of his intentions, he put them into execution, and crossed his force over to

the American shore. Newark was left in flames, and the guns of fort George were rendered useless. The British forces arrived only in time to find themselves without shelter, and were obliged to fall back to Queens-town. From this place general M'Clure attempted to dislodge them, by the batteries at Lewistown, but without effect.

The British commander became highly incensed at the destruction of the town of Newark, and secretly resolved on the conflagration of Buffaloe, Schlosser, and Lewistown, and the capture of fort Niagara; the garrison of which they destined to be put to the sword. A surmise of these intentions of the enemy, induced the American commander to transfer his head quarters to Buffaloe; to which place he immediately set out, to provide for the protection of its citizens, and called forth the neighbouring militia *en masse*.

Fort Niagara was at this time garrisoned by 324 sick and effective men, and was commanded by captain Leonard, of the artillery, who, notwithstanding the notorious fact of the enemy being within two hour's march of the fort, neglected to provide against an assault, by night, and on the evening of the 18th, took up his quarters at a farm, 2 miles distant from his command. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the enemy, 400 in number, crossed the Niagara, under colonel Murray, and approached the principal gate, which was then open. Accompanied by his Indian warriors, he rushed furiously in upon the garrison, and in a few minutes, put an end to all opposition. The only resistance which was made, he received from the guard in the southeast block house, and the sick, who crawled out from their beds. What officers were within the fort, exhausted every means of defence, of which the suddenness of the attack had not deprived them. On entering the garrison, colonel Murray received a wound in the arm; soon after which he yielded the command to colonel Hamilton—under whose superintendence, the women of the garrison were stript of their clothing, and many of them killed, and the persons of the dead officers treated with shocking indignity. In the meantime, captain Leonard arrived, and was made prisoner; and out of the whole number of troops in the garrison, 20 only effected their escape. The British flag



was immediately after unfurled, and the enemy had the entire command of the entrance to the Niagara.

In the course of the same morning, about 700 Indians made an attack upon Lewistown, which was defended by a small detachment of militia, under major Bennett, who resisted the assailants, until he was entirely surrounded, and then desperately cut his way through, with the loss of 8 men, and effected his retreat. This village, and those of Young's town, Manchester, and the Indian *Tuscarora*, were speedily reduced to ashes. Whilst the Indians were engaged in firing Lewistown, major Mallory boldly advanced from Schlosser, and attacked their outer guard at Lewistown heights, and compelled it to fall back to the foot of the mountain. The Indians were soon reinforced, however, and the gallant Mallory was in turn obliged to retire. He retreated gradually to *Tantawanty* creek, occasionally turning upon, and fighting their advance guard, for 2 days; at the end of which time, the Indians gave up the pursuit. In these affairs, major Mallory lost lieutenant Lowe, of the 23d infantry, and 8 men.

General M'Clure, having collected nearly 3000 militia at Buffalo, left them under the command of general Hall, and repaired to the village of Batavia, about 28 miles from Buffalo, to provide for its protection against a sally from fort Niagara. He had previously sent lieutenant Riddle to that place, with all the regulars in the vicinity, amounting in the whole to 80 men, to secure the public arsenal. On his arrival at Batavia, after having organized a body of militia there, he ordered the regulars back to Buffalo, to encourage by their example, the undisciplined troops of his division.

On the 30th (December), the British landed 650 men at Black Rock, and immediately proceeded to the village of Buffalo. Before they reached it, however, they were obstinately opposed by colonel Bleeksly, and 2 or 300 raw and undisciplined militia. General Hall had fallen back about three miles from Buffalo, when his force was met by lieutenant Riddle and his regulars. The British had already entered the village, and the militia fled with the greatest precipitation. Riddle offered to march with his regulars in front, and thus to excite the timid militia, to repulse the enemy, and drive him from the village. But the general, yielding to the unwillingness of the men, de-

clined the proposal of the regular officer, who, thereupon, rode towards the village to reconnoitre. He advanced within half a mile of its suburbs, and seeing that with a handful of spirited men he could himself save the place from destruction, he returned to general Hall, and entreated him to place 200 men under his command, with whom he promised at least to rescue the women and children, who would otherwise be sacrificed by the Indians, if not to drive out the enemy. General Hall thought this plan was impracticable. Lieutenant Riddle, therefore, was prevented from attempting it. By the exertion of major Staunton and major Norton, each of whom belonged to the village, about 200 men were collected, and expressed their willingness to combat the British and Indians. These were advised, that it was in vain to attack their enemy, and this advice was sanctioned by the general. At length, having become quite indignant at the timidity of the militia, lieutenant Riddle took upon himself the responsibility of going forward with his own men, and of rescuing as much public property as they could bear away. He entered the upper part of the village, where he was informed by a citizen, that colonel Chapin, who had long before the flight of the militia, been ordered to take post at *Conejockeda* creek, had surrendered the place to the enemy, under the condition that they were to plunder, but not to burn it. The Indians were at that moment firing the houses. Lieutenant Riddle, with 30 men, then took from the arsenal, which had not been discovered by the enemy, about 300 stand of arms, and some other public property, and having made two Indian prisoners, returned to the position occupied by general Hall.

On the following day, January 1st (1814), a small party of dragoons were ordered in advance of the whole militia, which general Hall marched to the vicinity of the village, in order to make a show of force. Captain Stone, who commanded the advance, accompanied by lieutenant Riddle, lieutenant Totman, of the Canadian volunteers, and lieutenant Frazer of the 15th regiment, infantry, made several prisoners on the margin of the village, and having delivered them to the general, the latter immediately ordered his whole force to retire, and called in the advance for that purpose. Riddle and Totman, not knowing that

the dragoons had fallen back, were left in the near neighbourhood of the enemy, and upon being discovered by a squadron of the British horse, they immediately put spurs to their own, and attempted to escape toward the rendezvous of general Hall's brigade. They very soon outstripped their pursuers, and were congratulating themselves upon their supposed escape, when another squadron of the enemy were perceived coming out of the road, leading from Black Rock, and directing their course for Buffalo, between which and that road, Riddle and Totman then were. Thus hemmed in, on a narrow highway, with a superior enemy in front, and in the rear, they saw no probable prospect of escaping, and would have given themselves up, but for the treatment which other prisoners on the Niagara had recently received, and the practice, which had about this time commenced, of making hostages. No alternative seemed to present itself, but that of cutting their way through the party in their front; and on this they mutually resolved. On their attempting to dash through, with violent impetuosity, the whole party discharged their pistols at them, one only of which took effect, and the unfortunate Totman fell from his horse. Riddle cut through with his sword, and having gained their rear, pushed his horse through a narrow lane on the left, and rode into a thick swamp, terminated by a forest. Through this the enemy did not choose to follow him, and he arrived at the head quarters of the general on the same day, without having met with other obstacles.

In a few days after, the British evacuated all the positions they had captured, except fort Niagara. This, they put in a better state of defence, and from it they made frequent incursions, which were ever attended by acts of violence upon the neighbouring inhabitants.

The campaign of 1813, in the north, was now drawn to its final close; and though the American arms had attained a high degree of reputation, no one advantage was obtained, to atone for the blood and treasure, which had already been exhausted. The capital of Upper Canada had been taken. It was scarcely captured, before it was abandoned. The bulwark of the province, fort George, had been gallantly carried; but an inferior foe was suffered to escape, after being beaten; and the conquerors were soon after confined to the works of the garrison, and



closely invested upwards of six months. The long contemplated attack upon Montreal, was frustrated; Kingston still remained, a safe and advantageous harbour, in the hands of the enemy; and a fortress, which might have been long and obstinately, and effectually defended, was yielded, with scarcely a struggle, and under circumstances mysterious in the extreme, to the retaliating invaders of the American Niagara frontier. In the course of the summer of 1813, the American army possessed every position between lake Ontario and lake Erie, on both sides of the Niagara. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of that stream, they were deprived of their possessions on their own. Another day may bring forward a development of the causes, which led to such unfavourable results; and posterity be enabled to throw the censure on the proper object.



### CHAPTER XIII.

*The Navy—The Hornet challenges Bonne Citoyenne—Is chased from St. Salvador—Engages and captures the sloop of war Peacock—Arrives at New York—Return of the frigate Chesapeake—Her cruise—Arrival and departure of the President and Congress—Death of captain Lawrence, and loss of the Chesapeake—Conduct of the Privateers—Lieutenant St. Clair, in Chesapeake Bay—Fight between the privateer Commodore Decatur and the sloop of war Dominica.*

THE United States' sloop of war Hornet, having challenged to a combat, the British sloop of war *Bonne Citoyenne*, captain Green, who declined an acceptance of the invitation, she was left before the port of St. Salvador, by commodore Bainbridge, with orders to blockade the enemy's vessel of war, containing upwards of half a million of dollars, and two armed British merchantmen, then lying in that harbour. This blockade was vigilant-

ly kept up until the 24th of January, 1813, on which day the Montague 74 hove in sight, and chased the Hornet into the harbour, whence, however, she escaped in the night. Captain Lawrence, who still commanded her, then shifted his cruising ground; and after having captured a vessel of 10 guns, laden with specie, and having run down the coast for Maranham, thence off Surinam, and thence for Demarara, outside of the bar of the river leading to which place, and with the fort bearing S. W. about 2 and an half leagues distant from him, he discovered a man of war brig, which he immediately attempted to near, by beating round the Carabana bank. In making this effort, a second sail, of equal size to the other, was also discovered, at about half past 3, P. M. At 20 minutes past 4, the strange sail, the British sloop of war Peacock, captain Peake, of 18 guns, and one 12-pounder carronade, a shifting gun, showed the English flag, and the Hornet was immediately cleared for action, and captain Lawrence made every attempt to get the weathergage. The Peacock was edging down fast. All the efforts of the Hornet to weather her proved fruitless, and at 25 minutes past 5, the American ensign being then up, in passing each other, the two vessels exchanged broadsides within half-pistol shot. The effect of this fire on board the enemy's vessel was extremely severe; on board the Hornet no loss whatever was sustained. The Peacock, being then discovered in the act of wearing, captain Lawrence bore up, received her starboard broadside, run her close on board on the starboard quarter, and poured into her so heavy, constant, and well directed a fire, that in 15 minutes she surrendered, with her hull and rigging totally cut to pieces. At the moment of her surrender, she hoisted a signal of distress, and in the next moment, her mainmast went by the board.

Lieutenant Shubrick, whose gallantry, on this occasion, was not less conspicuous than in the actions with the Guerriere and Java, in each of which he gave unequivocal proofs, as well of his humanity, as of his bravery, was despatched to bring her officers on board the Hornet.\*—He soon returned with her first officer, and a report that the captain had been killed in the latter part of the action;

\* This officer was lost in the Epervier.

that a great number of the crew were either killed or wounded, and that she was sinking fast, having already 6 feet water in her hold. Both vessels were brought to anchor, and all the boats immediately despatched to bring off the wounded, and as much of their baggage as could be found. All the shot holes which could be got at were then plugged, the guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat, by pumping and bailing, until the prisoners could be removed. All efforts appearing to be entirely unavailing, the body of captain Peake was enclosed in his own flag, and the ship sunk in 5 and an half fathoms water, carrying down 13 of her own, and 3 of the *Hornet's* crew.\* With the utmost difficulty, acting lieutenant Conner and midshipman Cooper, who were superintending the removal of the prisoners, effected their escape, by jumping into a boat which was lying on her booms, at the moment when the *Peacock* sunk.

The loss of the enemy amounted to 33 in wounded, 3 of whom afterwards died. The number of killed could not be ascertained; but 4 men, besides the captain, were found dead on the *Peacock's* deck; and 4 men in addition to the 13 who sunk, were drowned. The loss on board the *Hornet* was 1 man killed, 2 slightly wounded in the action, and 2 severely by the bursting of a cartridge. Her hull was scarcely injured, though the rigging and sails were cut, her foremast pierced through, and her bowsprit slightly wounded.

The officers and crew of the *Hornet* were not behind those of any other ship, in emulating the example of captain Hull and his brave companions; and the course and consequence of this engagement, bore a striking similitude to that with the *Guerriere*. Acting lieutenants Conner and Newton, and midshipmen Cooper, Mayo, Getz, Smoot, Tippet, Boerum, and Titus, behaved with that bravery, which had now become almost inseparable from the American name. Lieutenant Stewart, the 1st officer of the ship, was unfortunately too ill to keep the deck, and captain Lawrence was therefore deprived of the services of a meritorious and valuable officer.

\* These men went on board to save the wounded, the British sailors having refused to assist them.



This engagement took place in view of the ship of war, which lay in Demarara river, the *Espeigle*; and captain Lawrence being apprehensive that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort the Peacock, the greatest activity prevailed on board the Hornet to repair damages, as soon as they were sustained, and by 9 o'clock all the boats were stowed, new sails bent, and the ship completely prepared for another action. The *Espeigle*, of equal force with the Peacock, did not come out.

Captain Lawrence's crew had been on 2-3ds allowance of provisions for several days, and the number of souls now on board amounting to 270, including those of the merchant prize, it became necessary that she should return to the United States. She shaped her course for New York, where she arrived about the 20th of March. On the passage her officers divided their clothing with the prisoners, who had lost their baggage; the crew of the ship gave up each a proportion of theirs to the crew of the Peacock; and the private wardrobe of the captain, whose attentions to the wants of those, whom the fortune of war had placed in his hands, and whose exertions to ameliorate their condition were unceasing, was given up to her officers. At New York, captain Lawrence was received with universal joy; and his reception in other cities was similar to that which had been given to other naval commanders.

Many days had not elapsed, after the arrival of the Hornet at New York, when the United States' frigate Chesapeake, captain Evans, of 36 guns, returned to the harbour of Boston, from a cruise of 115 days. During that time she had run down by the Madeiras, Canaries, and Cape de Verds, and thence down on the equator, where she cruised 6 weeks. Hence she proceeded down the coast of South America, and passed within 15 leagues of Surinam. On the 25th of February, the day after the conquest of the Peacock, she passed over the place, at which that vessel had been sunk, and thence proceeded down by Barbadoes, Antigua, and most of the windward islands, thence on the coast of the United States, between Bermuda and the capes of Virginia, by the capes of the Delaware within 12 leagues, by New York within 20, and thence by the east channel to Boston, where she terminated a cruise on the 10th of April, marked by the cap-

ture of four valuable merchantmen; the chase of a British sloop of war, and an escape from two line of battle ships.

The command of this ship was then given to captain Lawrence, (her late commander, captain Evans, having accepted the command of the New York station) and directions were immediately given to repair, and equip her for another cruise. Commodore Rodgers had returned to that port also from a cruise, in which, though he did not capture any armed ship of the enemy, he drew from the coast such of his public vessels as were destined to blockade the different ports, and saved to the mercantile interest of the country many millions of dollars. The President and Congress were at that time the only vessels of his squadron. To keep these in port, the British frigates Shannon and Tenedos, each being of the largest class, appeared off the entrance to the harbour of Boston, and sent in frequent reports of their size, strength, and armament. Early in the month of May, however, commodore Rodgers put to sea; but the British frigates avoided him by sailing from the coast. In the course of that month, the Shannon returned to the mouth of the harbour, and her commander, commodore Brooke, sent in a challenge, to the commander of the frigate Chesapeake. This challenge was not received by captain Lawrence, but his ship being then in readiness, he understood the menacing manœuvres of the Shannon to be an invitation, and on the first of June (1814), with a crew almost in a state of mutiny, and unacquainted with their new captain, and without his full complement of officers, his first lieutenant, Page, being sick on shore, he sailed out to meet, and give battle to the hostile ship. The Shannon sailed from the bay, and put to sea, the Chesapeake, following in chase, seven miles astern. At half past 4, the Shannon hove to, with her head to the southward and eastward; and at half past 5, the Chesapeake hauled up her courses, and was closing fast with the enemy. At 15 minutes before 6, he commenced the action by firing his after guns on the starboard side, when the Chesapeake gave him a broadside; this was succeeded by a broadside from the Shannon, which killed the sailing master, Mr. White, and many of the crew, and wounded captain Lawrence; he refused to quit the deck, however, and ordered a second broadside, the return to which, wounded the captain a se-

cond time, and killed the fourth lieutenant, Ballard, and lieutenant Broom of the marines. The Chesapeake then ranged ahead of the Shannon, when her jib sheet, the slings of her fore top sail yard, her spanker brails, and her bow lines and braces, being cut, she luffed into the wind, and took aback, and fell with her quarter foul of the Shannon's starboard anchor. This accident gave a decided advantage to the enemy, and enabled him to rake the Chesapeake. Captain Lawrence was all this while on deck, still persisting in his refusal to go below, when, having called for the boarders, he received a musket ball through the body, and in a languishing state was carried down. At this moment the ship was deprived of all her principal officers; the first lieutenant, Augustus C. Ludlow, had been mortally wounded; several of the midshipmen and petty officers, besides the fourth lieutenant and the commanding officer of marines, were either killed or wounded, and the command of the ship devolved on her third lieutenant, Budd. The bravery and seamanship of this officer, being already known to the crew, some hope remained of saving the ship, and of capturing the superior enemy. But, as lieutenant Budd ascended the spar deck, an arm chest on the quarter was blown up, by a hand grenade, thrown from the Shannon's tops. The boarders very soon followed lieutenant Budd, but before they reached the deck, captain Brooke had determined that the Chesapeake could only be carried by boarding, and having already so many shot between wind and water in his own ship, that he became apprehensive of her sinking, he threw his marines on the Chesapeake's quarter deck, and headed them himself. Lieutenant Budd immediately gave orders to haul on board the fore tack, for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the Shannon, and of attempting to capture captain Brooke, who had then a number of his crew on board the Chesapeake. On this effort the fate of the ship depended, and most of the American crew, mindful of the dying words of their gallant commander, whose injunction on them was, "*Don't give up the ship,*" several times attempted to succeed in it: but the boatswain having mutinied, and persuaded many of the men, who were dissatisfied at not having received their prize money of the last cruise, to join him below; the few who remained firm to their duty, were soon over-



powered; and lieutenant Budd, being wounded and thrown down to the gun deck, in attempting to gain the quarter, the scheme entirely failed, and the enemy gained complete possession of the upper deck. A great proportion of the crew, who had escaped a wound, nevertheless continued fighting; and captain Brooke, as he was crossing the ship, was shot through the neck by the Chesapeake's chaplain, Livermore, whom he instantly cut down; but he, almost, as soon, received a wound in the head, and was then transferred to his own ship. The enemy's crew were now commanded by lieutenant Watt, who stabbed and cut down the wounded and vanquished, without regard to their cries of surrender. He was killed on the Chesapeake's deck, according to one account, by one of the Shannon's sailors, as he was placing, by mistake, the American over the English ensign; according to another, by an American sailor in the main top, when in the act of killing a wounded marine. The enemy had now the entire possession of the Chesapeake; the English flag was flying at the different mast heads, yet they continued to shoot at, and otherwise to wound, her sailors. A volley of musketry was fired by them, down upon the wounded, and one of the American midshipmen was assailed by a British marine with great violence, after his submission to the Shannon's commander.

In this engagement, the result of which is attributed to many fortuitous events, the superiority of the American gunnery was clearly evinced. The Chesapeake fired two guns to one of the enemy, and pierced the Shannon's sides in so many places, that she was kept afloat with very great difficulty; whilst, on the other side, the Shannon's broadsides scarcely injured the hull of the Chesapeake. At long shot the engagement might have terminated differently; though the captain and crew were strangers to each other, the ship just out of port, and not in a fighting condition, and many of the sailors quite raw. Her rate was 36 guns, her force 48. The rate of the Shannon was 38, her force 49; and in addition to her own crew, she had on board, 16 chosen men from the *Bella Poule*, and part of the crew of the Tenedos. She lost in the engagement, besides her first lieutenant, the captain's clerk, the purser and 23 seamen, killed; and, besides her captain, one midshipman and 56 seamen, wounded. On board the Chesa-

peake, the captain, the first and fourth lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, the master, midshipmen Hopewell, Livingston, Evans, and about 70 men, were killed; and the second and third lieutenants, the chaplain, midshipmen Weaver, Abbott, Nicholls, Berry, and nearly 80 men, wounded. The greater proportion of this loss was sustained, after the enemy had gained the deck of the Chesapeake.

Soon after the termination of the action, the two ships were steered for Halifax, where the bodies of captain Lawrence, and his gallant officers slain in the battle, were committed to the grave with the usual honours, attended by all the civil, naval and military officers, of the two nations, who happened to be in that port.

Not long after these honourable funeral obsequies had been performed by the enemy, captain George Crowninshield, brother to the present secretary of the navy, actuated by the laudable desire of restoring the body of the lamented Lawrence to his country and his friends, requested and obtained permission of the president, to proceed in a flag vessel to Halifax, at his individual expense, for that purpose. The commanding officer of the British squadron, at that time blockading the eastern ports, sir Thomas Hardy, readily assented to the free passage of captain Crowninshield's brig, and he accordingly proceeded to effect his object, accompanied by twelve masters of vessels, who volunteered to compose the crew. The body was brought to the port of Salem, and entombed with the remains of its ancestors in New York, where the highest funeral honours were paid by the citizens, as a tribute of their respect and admiration to their late gallant countryman.

The private armed vessels of the United States, the number of which had greatly increased since the account given of them in a foregoing chapter of these sketches, were still cruising over the Atlantic, continually capturing, and otherwise annoying the commerce of the enemy, and occasionally engaging some of his public ships, in such gallant combats, as are entitled, and ought to be registered among the accounts of the most brilliant naval exploits.

The *Comet*, captain Boyle, of 14 guns and 120 men, being off Pernambuco on the 14th January (1814), discovered 4

sail standing out of that place. This squadron consisted of 3 English merchantmen: the ship *George*, capt. Wilson, of 14 guns, and the brigs *Gambier*, captain Smith, and *Bowes*; captain ———, of 10 guns each, who were bound to Europe, under the protection of the fourth vessel, a Portuguese national ship of 32 guns, and 165 men. The latter having exhibited the colours of her nation, captain Boyle stood for her; and received a communication of her character and object, accompanied by an injunction not to molest the merchantmen. Considering that the Portuguese had no right to afford protection to a British vessel, in the nature of a convoy, captain Boyle informed her commander of his determination to capture them if he possibly could, and immediately sailed in pursuit. As they kept close together, the *Comet* opened her fire upon the 3 merchantmen, who returned it with alacrity. The man of war delivered a heavy fire of round and grape, and received in turn a broadside. The English occasionally separated from each other, to give the Portuguese a chance of crippling the *Comet*, whose captain, however, kept as near as possible to the merchantmen. Frequent broadsides were discharged, as opportunities varied, at the whole squadron, whose collected force amounted to 54 guns, and in a few minutes the ship *George* struck her colours in a sinking condition. Soon after, the brig *Bowes* struck also; but a broadside from the man of war prevented the *Comet*'s boat from taking possession. Captain Boyle then repeated his attack upon the Portuguese, and obliged her to sheer off, with the loss of her 1st lieutenant and 5 men killed, and her captain and several men wounded. The third merchantman, the *Gambier*, then also surrendered, and the brig *Bowes* was immediately taken possession of. So much were the others injured, that captain Boyle deemed it improper to board them, and determined to lay to until morning, it being by this time excessively dark. Between the Portuguese and the *Comet*, several broadsides were exchanged in the course of the night, without any material effect. On the following morning, the man of war gave signal to the other ships to make the first port, and stood off herself with that view. The *Comet* brought her prize into the United States, making her way through a squadron which was blockading the southern ports. Before



she arrived, however, she captured the *Alexis*, and *Dominica* packet, each of 10 guns, and the *Aberdeen* of 8, in the presence of a British sloop of war, who was, at the same time, in full chase of the privateer.

On the 1st of February, the schooner *Hazard*, captain Le Chartier, of 3 guns, and 38 men, captured the ship *Albion*, of 12 guns, and 15 men, being one of a convoy for Europe. On the 23d, she was re-captured by the cutter *Caledonia*, of 8 guns, and 38 men, from New Providence. Three days after, the *Hazard* fell in with both, engaged, and after an action of several minutes, compelled both to strike, but took possession of the prize only and carried her into St. Mary's. The *Caledonia* was very much injured, and most of her crew either killed or wounded. On board the *Hazard*, the 1st lieutenant and 6 men were slightly wounded, but the hull and rigging were severely shattered by the grape from the two vessels.

The private armed schooner *General Armstrong*, captain Champlin, of 18 guns, being within 5 leagues of the mouth of Surinam river, on the 11th of March, discovered a large sail to be at anchor under the land. The crew of the *General Armstrong* supposed her to be an English letter of marque, and consequently, captain Champlin bore down, with an intention of giving her a starboard and larboard broadside, and then to board her. The stranger, in the mean time, had got sail on her, and was standing out for the American. Both vessels, thus approaching each other, had come within gun-shot, (the Englishman firing the guns on his main deck,) when the *General Armstrong* discharged both the contemplated broadsides, and discovered, too late, that her antagonist was a heavy frigate. She nevertheless kept up her fire, though attempting to get away, but in ten minutes she was silenced by the enemy. The last shot of the *General Armstrong* brought down the enemy's colours, by cutting away her mizen gaff, halyards, and her mizen and main stay; and, captain Champlin, presuming that she had struck, made preparations to possess her; but the frigate opened another heavy fire upon the schooner, killed 6, and wounded the captain and 16 of her men; shot away the fore and main shrouds, pierced the mainmast and bowsprit, and struck her several times between wind and water. In

this condition, she laid upwards of 45 minutes, within pistol shot of the frigate; but, by the extraordinary exertions of the crew, and the aid of sweeps, she got out of the enemy's reach, and arrived at Charleston on the 4th of April.

On the 3d of that month, the privateer *Dolphin*, of 10 guns, still commanded by captain Stafford, who had engaged and captured two of the enemy's vessels, mounting 26 guns, was attacked at the mouth of the Rappahannock river, by 17 barges from a British squadron. The barges carried upwards of 40 men each: the *Dolphin* was manned by 60. Two letters of marque, laying there also, soon yielded, but captain Stafford resolved on defending his vessel. The battle continued two hours, when the enemy succeeded in boarding. The *Dolphin's* crew fought with great desperation on her deck, and the engagement was kept up many minutes longer, before the vessel was captured. The enemy took down her colours, and lost, in killed and wounded, nearly 50 men. On board the *Dolphin*, 4 men were wounded.

At a harbour near Gwinn's Island, lieutenant St. Clair of the navy, who had previously distinguished himself as an able seaman, in the sloop of war *Argus*, anchored a small schooner, mounting two or three guns, and filled with armed men, to repel the depredations which the enemy were, about that time, committing along the shores of the Chesapeake. He encountered a schooner, who hailed and ordered him to come on board with his boat, which being refused, an engagement followed, and terminated in silencing the strange vessel. She, however, renewed it, a second and a third time, and was as often silenced. The night was excessively dark, and when lieutenant St. Clair sent his boat to take possession, he discovered that she had made her escape, leaving him with one man wounded on board the schooner.

This succession of sea engagements, was closed by a brilliant attack, made by a privateer upon a sloop of war. The schooner *Commodore Decatur*, of 10 guns, commanded by captain Dominique, engaged the sloop of war *Dominica*, lieutenant commandant Barret, of 14 guns, and after a well contested action, carried her by boarding, and brought her into the United States. No event, probably, in the naval annals, furnishes evidence of a more

brilliant and decisive victory, gained by a vessel so inferior in size, strength, and armament, to her antagonist.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

*Blockade of the Delaware River, and of Chesapeake Bay—Attack upon Lewistown, on the former—Affair below Lewistown—Repulse of the enemy near Morris River—The gun boats attack two frigates—Engagement on the Delaware—Depredations in Chesapeake Bay—Frequent failures of the enemy to land—Affair at Frenchtown—Destruction of Havre de Grace, and of Georgetown and Fredericktown—Blockade of other ports—Loss of the Revenue Cutter, Surveyor—Action between the gun boats and three frigates—Defence of Crany Island—Hampton assaulted, and plundered.*

THE declaration of war against Great Britain, was no sooner made known at that court, than its ministers determined on sending into their provinces of Canada, the veteran regiments of their army; and adopted effectual measures to forward to the coast of the American states, a naval force competent to blockade its principal bays and rivers. Incensed at the successes of the American naval arms, over the frigates and sloops of war of their nation, they hastened the departure of their different fleets; and, in retaliation for the invasion of their provinces by the American troops, instructed their commanders to burn and otherwise to destroy, not only the coasting and river craft, but the towns and villages on the navigable inlets; and more particularly in the southern departments of the union. Early in the spring of 1813, detachments of these fleets arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, and at the entrance to the Chesapeake bay.—Others were to rendezvous at Bermuda, and thence to proceed to the reinforcement of the blockading squadrons.

In the month of March, the Poictiers, 74, commodore Beresford; the frigate Belvidere, and several smaller vessels of war, entered the bay of Delaware, and destroyed



great numbers of small trading vessels. In the course of that month, they were repeatedly repulsed in their attempts to capture others which lay near the shore, by the militia of Delaware; and several instances occurred of sharp fighting, which tended to improve the discipline of the volunteers of that state.

A demand was made upon the people of Lewistown, for a supply of provisions for the blockading squadron, which being spiritedly refused, on the 6th of April, sir John P. Beresford directed captain Byron, to move as near the town, with the Belvidere, as the water would permit him, and, having first notified its inhabitants, to bombard it, until his demands were complied with. On the night of the 6th, the bombardment accordingly took place; the enemy's gun boats approached near enough to throw their 32-pound balls into the town, but their bombs fell far short of their object. Colonel Davis, who commanded at that time, had already removed the women and children, and returned the enemy's fire from an 18-pounder battery, with which, in a few minutes, he effectually silenced one of the gun boats. The cannonade continued nearly 20 hours; at the end of which time, the enemy drew off his vessels and descended the bay, having discharged upwards of 600 shot, shells and Congreve rockets. The shells did not reach the town; the rockets passed over it; but the 32-pounders injured several of the houses. The Poictiers and the Belvidere, sailed out of the bay for Bermuda.

The Spartan frigate, having entered the Delaware soon after the departure of this squadron, attempted, on the 31st of the same month, to land about 60 of her men near Morris's river, on the Jersey side, with a view to obtain provisions. A small party of the militia of that state, however, hastily collected and drove them off, before they had an opportunity of visiting the farmers' houses.

In the month of June, the frigate Statira, and the sloop of war Martin, reinforced the enemy, and had captured many large merchant vessels bound up the Delaware. The whole trade between the capes and Philadelphia, and many of the intermediate places, was liable to be intercepted; and, unless they were protected by a convoy, the small vessels usually employed on the river, did not attempt to sail. On the 23d, a squadron of 9 gun boats,

and 2 armed sloops, under lieutenant commandant Angus, of the navy, convoyed 3 sloops, laden with timber for a 44, then building at Philadelphia, under the eye of the enemy. The gun boats engaged the two frigates, whilst the sloops effected their passage, and the Statira and Spartan moved from their anchorage to a situation out of reach of annoyance.

A merchant sloop, having entered the bay on the 22d of July, on her return from sea, was cut off by the Martin sloop of war, which had just reappeared in the Delaware. The sloop ran aground to avoid capture; and although she was afterwards attacked by a tender and 4 barges well manned and armed, a hasty collection of militia with 1 field piece, under lieutenant Townsend, drove off her assailants, and saved the sloop.

A detachment of the gun boat flotilla, being at this time but a few miles off, were apprised of the attack made by the sloop of war, and captain Angus immediately proceeded down the bay, with 8 gun boats and 2 block sloops. On the 29th, he discovered the Martin grounded slightly on the outer ridge of Crow's shoals, and determining to attack her in that situation, he anchored his squadron within three quarters of a mile of the enemy, and opened a fire from the whole line. The Junon frigate came up to the assistance of the sloop of war, and anchored within half a mile below her. Between both of the enemy's vessels, mounting in all 69 guns, and the gun boat squadron, a cannonade followed, and continued about 1 hour and 45 minutes; in all which time, scarcely a shot struck either of the gun boats, whilst at almost every fire, the latter told upon the hulls of the sloop and frigate. This difference of effect in the firing being discovered by the British, they manned their launches, barges, and cutters, 10 in number, and despatched them to cut off the boats on the extremity of the line. No. 121, a boat commanded by sailing master Shead, which, by some accident, had fallen a very great distance out of the line, and was prevented from recovering its situation by a strong ebb, and the wind dying away, became the object of attack from the enemy's barges. 8 of them, mounting among them three 12-pound carronades, and carrying 150 men, assailed the gun boat at one time. Mr. Shead continued, nevertheless, to sweep her towards the squadron,

and to discharge his 24-pounder alternately, at one or the other of the pursuing barges, until they gained so fast upon him, that he resolved to anchor his boat and receive them as warmly as the disparity of numbers would permit him. He then gave them a discharge of his great gun, with much effect, though to the injury of the piece, which being fired a second time, and the carriage breaking down, it became necessary to oppose the enemy, who were closing fast, by the boarders. With these, Mr. Shead resisted them, until his deck was covered with men, and the vessel entirely surrounded by the barges. Such was the impetuous fury of the English sailors, that the Americans were driven below, and the authority of the enemy's officers could scarcely protect them from violence. The flag was struck, and the boat carried off in triumph to the men of war. In this assault, the British lost 7 killed and 12 wounded. On board the boat, 7 men were wounded, but none killed. The squadron was all this time firing at the enemy's ships, who retired after capturing Mr. Shead, the *Martin* having been extricated from her situation on the shoal. On board the flotilla not a man was injured, and but 1 of the boats' rigging cut; this was No. 125, commanded by sailing master *Moliere*. The engagement continued nearly two hours, and was the last affair, of any consequence, which occurred in the Delaware during this year.

In, and along, the shores of the bay of Chesapeake, where the blockading squadron consisted of four 74's, several frigates and large sloops of war, and a number of tenders and barges kept for the purpose of navigating the smallest inlets, depredations of every kind, and to a very extensive degree, were carried on with unremitted avidity. The various farms, bounded by the different creeks and rivers, tributary to the bay, became the scenes of indiscriminate and unjustifiable plunder. The stocks of many of them were completely destroyed; the slaves of the planters allured from their service, armed against their masters' defenceless families, and encouraged to the commission of every kind of pillage. Along a coast of such an extent, it was almost impossible to station troops to resist every incursion, or to draw out, and transfer from one point to another with sufficient celerity, even the neighbouring militia. But many instances occurred, not-



withstanding, in which the invaders were opposed, and sometimes severely repulsed, by a handful of militia, collected without authority, and frequently without a leader. On the shores of the Rappahannock, one or two divisions of the enemy were beaten and routed with loss, by a small party of Virginia militia. In the neighbourhood of Easton, (Maryland,) they took possession of several islands. From Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar island, they obtained provisions for the fleet, and attempted many incursions to the opposite shores, their success in which was prevented by bodies of cavalry and infantry, which the spirited citizens of Maryland had arranged, at different rendezvous, along the shores of the bay, in anticipation of a visit from the blockading fleet.

The commanding officer of the fleet, sir John B. Warren, was at this time in Bermuda, making preparations for its augmentation; and the vessels then in the bay, were commanded by rear admiral George Cockburn. About the latter end of April, this officer determined on attacking and destroying the towns most contiguous to the head of the bay; and for this purpose, on the 29th, he led a few hundred of his marines, in the barges of his ship, the Marlborough, to the attack of Frenchtown, a place containing 2 dwelling houses, 2 store-houses, and several stables; and important, only because of being a place of intermediate depot between Baltimore and Philadelphia. A party of militia, from Elkton, too inferior to the invaders to justify an attempt at resistance, retired on their approach, and admiral Cockburn landed his marines and destroyed the store-houses, in which were deposited a quantity of goods belonging to merchants of those cities, of immense value, and a splendid architectural drop curtain and other paintings, belonging to the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. The marines being no professed admirers of the arts, these were destroyed without much hesitation. The private houses were saved by the interference of some respectable citizens; and after plundering the others, and setting fire to two vessels laying in the harbour, the British returned to their shipping.

Havre de Grace, a small town containing about sixty houses, situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, about two miles from the head of the bay, and through

which the great post road passes, was the next object in the plan of the admiral's operations. On the morning of the 3d of May (1813), he proceeded to its assault, with 19 barges; and when within a short distance of the town, commenced a tremendous bombardment, accompanied by the firing of cannon and the discharge of numerous rockets. In expectation of an attack from the enemy, a battery had been erected, of two 6 pounders and one 9, and colonel Smith ordered out a detachment of the Hartford county militia for the defence of the place. At the time of the assault, the inhabitants were in their beds; and there being no sentinels, the first notice they had of the approach of the enemy, was from the discharge of one of his pieces. The battery had been assigned as a place of rendezvous, in the event of an attack: but, such was the surprise which the presence of the enemy excited, and so incessant his discharges of shells and rockets, that five or six men only, were fearless enough to repair to their breast-work, and resist the approaches of the British barges. This small party kept up a fire from the battery, until the enemy's advance commenced its debarkation; when all, except O'Neill, an Irishman, abandoned their posts, and following the militia, who had fled with shameful precipitation, left the women and children of the place, to the mercy of the invaders. O'Neill continued, with great difficulty, to discharge one of the 6 pounders, until, in recoiling, it ran over his thigh, and rendered him incapable of further resistance in that way. But, collecting all his strength, he armed himself with two muskets, and retreated from the battery to the centre of the town, where he joined Mr. Bennet Barns, an old and respectable native of Maryland, and kept up a brisk fire, until they were both made prisoners. In the mean time, the whole body of the enemy had landed, and were actively engaged in destroying the houses. They set fire to those which had not been injured by their shells, broke the furniture, and cut open the bedding of the citizens to augment the flames; destroyed the public stages, cut to pieces the private baggage of the passengers, tore the clothing of some of the inhabitants from their backs, and left to others those only which they wore. They set fire also to a house in which was a woman who had been all her life a cripple, and then but a few days delivered of child. To the urgent supplica-

tion of this hapless being, for protection from the flames for herself and her offspring, they gave a brutal refusal, uttered too in the most indecorous language. To the humanity of some neighbour she was ultimately indebted for her life.\* Women and children, flying, in every direction, to avoid a relentless foe, and to seek protection from their own countrymen, were insulted by the morose seamen and marines; and the only house (of Mark Pringle, esq.) which yet remained entirely uninjured, was sought by one and all, as an asylum. In this, which was a spacious and elegant private mansion, several ladies of the first distinction had taken refuge, and among them the mother and sisters of commodore Rodgers, whose house and furniture were much injured. An officer, who had just before made prisoner of O'Neill, was entreated to suffer this house, at least, to escape the general conflagration; but, as he was obeying the orders of admiral Cockburn, the most he could do, was to suspend his purpose, until those unprotected women could prevail upon the admiral to countermand them. The only act, partaking of the least degree of humanity, of which, on this occasion, the admiral could boast, was his compliance with these earnest entreaties. Having spread desolation through the whole town, and destroyed the doors and windows of a handsome church contiguous to it, the admiral ordered a detachment six miles up the river, to a place called Creswell's Ferry, whence, after committing many acts of outrage, they returned to concentrate their force at the place of landing. Here the admiral ordered them to re-embark; and, having crossed the Susquehanna, the whole squadron of his barges, made round the point which is formed at its entrance, and shaped their course three miles further up the bay, where the party relanded, repaired to those important and valuable works, Cœcil furnace, where lay upwards of 50 pieces of elegant cannon, the only legitimate object of destruction which the invaders had yet met with. These they spiked, stuffed the muzzles with clay and broken pieces of iron, and after many attempts to burst

\* This fact is well authenticated, and was related to the author by a gentleman then an inhabitant of Havre de Grace, but now a resident of Philadelphia, who was in the town at that time.



them, knocked off the loops.\* They then proceeded to batter down the furnace, which was private property, set fire to the stables belonging to it, and, as the last act of atrocity, with which this expedition was destined to be marked, they tore up a small bridge, constructed over a deep, though narrow creek, and over which, travellers of every description were obliged to pass, or venture through a wider channel at the imminent hazard of their lives.

Having attained all the objects of this enterprise, the British sailors and marines returned to their shipping in the bay; and, on the 6th, they sailed from the neighbourhood of Havre de Grace, to the great joy of its distressed and ruined inhabitants. O'Neill, who had dared to resist them in the early stage of their proceedings, was taken on board the blockading fleet, and detained there several days. Such of the inhabitants, who were not left entirely destitute, were deprived of those articles of property, which would relieve others; and, it became necessary to apply for assistance to the principal and most opulent town of Maryland. The citizens of Baltimore relieved the sufferers, and preparations were soon after made to rebuild the houses.

In the relation of such scenes, as those which occurred at Havre de Grace, it seldom happens that an account is to be given of the killed and wounded in an action. In the slight resistance which was made by O'Neill and his companions, however, the enemy had three men killed and two wounded. Of the militia, one man was killed by the explosion of a rocket.

Fraught with the immense booty which he had brought away from Havre de Grace, and finding his sailors and marines quite elated at the facility which the prospect of an attack on other equally defenceless towns held out, of enriching themselves, the rear admiral contemplated an early assault upon such as he should discover to contain the most valuable spoil. The treachery of some citizens of the republic, and the easy intercourse which he kept up with his appointed agents, such as are employed by officers on all stations, enabled him to discover the situation of those towns and villages along the bay shore,

\* Some of the same guns are now on board the United States<sup>a</sup> frigate Java.

with as much readiness, as he could be wafted by his ships from one point of assault to another. On the river Sassafra, emptying itself into the bay, at a short sailing distance from the admiral's anchorage, and separating the counties of Kent and Cæcil, stood, nearly opposite each other, the villages of Georgetown and Fredericktown, containing, either of them, about 20 houses. These had attracted the attention of admiral Cockburn, and he determined on the possession of the property of the inhabitants. On the 6th, he therefore entered that river, with 18 barges, each carrying 1 great gun, and manned altogether by 600 men. Fredericktown was his first object. At this place, one small cannon had been mounted, and about 80 militia collected, under colonel Veazy. On the approach of the barges, the latter commenced a heavy fire, and, having discharged an immense number of langrage rockets, grape shot, and musket balls, within a very few minutes, more than one half of the militia fled. 35 only, under the colonel, stood their ground, and worked the cannon with such skill, that the boats, whose fire was principally directed at the battery, suffered very severely. The invaders were gallantly resisted more than half an hour, when they effected a landing, and marching towards the town compelled the militia to retire.—Colonel Veazy effected his retreat, in excellent order. Admiral Cockburn then marched at the head of his men, to the village; where, after having plundered the houses of their most valuable moveables, he set fire to every building in the town. The entreaties of the distressed women and children availed not with the admiral; and he would not quit the place, until he had entirely deprived them of every refuge. Whilst the flames were raging in every part of Frederick, the admiral moved over Sassafra river, to Georgetown, and demolished all the stone, and burned the wooden buildings. The wretched inhabitants of the opposite towns, were left to console each other, and the enemy's squadron of barges, glutted with fresh spoil, retired to their shipping.

Succeeding this affair, were several repulses of small parties of the enemy from the shores of the bay. Many attempts were made to land at the different farms, and the barge crews frequently assailed the planters' houses, and took off provisions, clothing, money and plate.

About this time, too, admiral Warren issued a proclamation from Bermuda, declaring, besides the Chesapeake and Delaware, the ports of New York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and the whole of the river Mississippi, to be in a state of rigorous blockade. From all these ports, however, notwithstanding the efficiency of admiral Warren's force, the public ships of war of the United States, the private armed vessels, and numerous merchantmen, were daily putting to sea. Prizes to these, which had been captured at immense distances from the coast, were continually sent into the harbours, declared to be blockaded; and neutral vessels did not hesitate, to enter and depart, at the pleasure of those concerned in them. Admiral Warren, shortly after arrived in the Chesapeake, with an additional fleet, and a large number of soldiers and marines, under general sir Sidney Beckwith. Between these officers and admiral Cockburn, various plans were designed for the attack of the more important assailable towns.

By the capture of the bay craft, they were well supplied with tenders to the different vessels of the fleet, and the strength of their armament enabled them to equip the craft in a warlike manner. The revenue cutter *Surveyor*, captain Travis, was assailed by the barges and tender of the *Narcissus* frigate, on the 10th of June, near York river; and, after a gallant resistance, was captured by a force nine times superior to her own. This cutter was transferred to the British service, and frequently employed in penetrating the narrow passes and rivulets along the shore. The depredations of the enemy received, about this time, however, a salutary check, from several private armed vessels, which had been hired into the American service, to cruise along the bay.

The enemy's force there consisted of seven 74's, twelve frigates, and many smaller vessels; and, from their suspicious movements, and menacing attitudes, the citizens of all the surrounding towns, became apprehensive of an attack. Hampton and Norfolk, were thought to be their more immediate objects; and preparations were made at the latter, to man all the works which had been previously constructed. At Norfolk, the militia force very soon consisted of 10,000 men. At Hampton a force of not more than 450, had yet been organized.



On the 18th (May), 3 of the frigates entered Hampton Roads, and despatched several barges to destroy the small vessels coming down James' river. Two or three gun boats being in the vicinity of that river, obliged the barges to retire, and communicated to the naval commander of the station, commodore Cassin, intelligence of the approach of the frigates. The flotilla of gun boats, in Elizabeth river, on which Norfolk is situated, was then commanded by lieutenant commandant Tarbell. The frigate Constellation was moored at the navy yard opposite Norfolk, and it was determined by commodore Cassin, to man fifteen of the gun boats, from the crew of the Constellation, and to despatch them against that frigate of the enemy, which was reported to be three miles ahead of the others. On the 19th, captain Tarbell proceeded with his boats, in two divisions; lieutenant Gardner having command of the first, and lieutenant R. Henly, of the second. The prevalence of adverse winds, prevented his coming within reach of the enemy, until 4 P. M. of the 20th, at which hour he stationed his divisions, and commenced a rapid fire, at the distance of three quarters of a mile. The frigate opened on the boats, and the cannonade continued half an hour, to the great injury of the frigate (the Junon), when the other frigates were enabled, by a fresh breeze, to get under weigh, to the assistance of their companion. Captain Tarbell was then obliged to haul off to a greater distance, still, however keeping up a well directed and incessant fire, upon the enemy's whole squadron. The first frigate was, by this time, so much injured, that her fire was only occasionally delivered; and, between the others and the gun boats, the cannonade was prolonged one hour longer; in which time, several heavy broadsides were discharged at the flotilla. Captain Tarbell then withdrew from the engagement, with the loss of 1 killed, Mr. Allison, a master's mate, and 3 of the boats slightly injured. The enemy were supposed to have suffered severely. The frigate, first engaged, was so much shattered, that the vessels which came to her assistance, were obliged to employ all their hands to repair her. In this affair, the Americans had 15 guns; the British, 150 and upwards. Captain Tarbell's conduct, as well as lieutenants Gardner, Henly, and others,

received the fullest approbation of the surrounding garrisons, and of the citizens of Norfolk.

The firing during this action, being distinctly heard by the enemy's fleet in the bay, and fears being entertained by the admiral, about the safety of the 3 frigates, 13 sail of line of battle ships and frigates, were ordered to proceed to Hampton Roads. In the course of the 20th, they dropped to the mouth of James' river, where they learned the cause of the recent cannonade, and determined on forthwith reducing the forts and garrisons, on which the defence of Norfolk depended. An immense number of barges were apparently preparing for an attack on Craney Island, the nearest obstruction to the enemy's advances. Captain Tarbell directed lieutenants Neale, Shubrick, and Saunders, each of the Constellation, to land 100 seamen on that island, to man a battery on its northwest side, and disposed the gun boats so as to annoy the enemy from the other. At the dawn of the 22d, the British approached the island with their barges, round the point of Nansemond river, to the number of about 4,000 men, many of whom were French, from time to time made prisoners by the English, and occasionally received into their service. The place at which they had chosen to land, was out of reach of the gun boats, and when they had approached within a few hundred yards of the shore, the gallant lieutenant Neale, assisted by Shubrick and Saunders, opened a galling fire from his battery, and compelled the enemy to make a momentary pause. The battery was manned altogether by 150 men, including lieutenant Breckenridge and his marines. An 18-pounder which was stationed at it, was fired with such precision, that many of the barges were cut through the middle, and would inevitably have carried down the crew, but for the immediate assistance rendered by the others of the squadron. Every attempt to approach the shore having heretofore failed, and the admiral's boat, the Centipede, upwards of 50 feet in length, and filled with men, being pierced in so many places, that she sunk as soon as she was abandoned, the enemy, whose seamen were falling in every barge, determined on returning to his shipping with as little delay as possible. But, even in his retreat, he suffered severely from the small battery.

Whilst this gallant resistance was made to his approaches from the water, by the naval division on the island, the enemy's troops, who had landed on the main shore, and crossed a narrow inlet to the west side, were warmly engaged with the Virginia volunteers. Previously to the movement of the barges, upwards of 800 soldiers had been landed by the enemy at the place abovementioned, and were already crossing the inlet, which, at low water, is passable by infantry. Colonel Beatty, who commanded the military division on the island, made instant and judicious preparations to receive the enemy. Under major Faulkner, of the artillery, two 24-pounders and four 6-pounders, had been drawn up to resist them. One division of this battery was commanded by captain Emmerston; and two others, by lieutenants Howl and Godwin. The enemy's troops had not all landed, when this cannon was opened upon them with great address; and, those which had not crossed the gulph, were compelled to retreat, by the velocity and precision of the fire. Those which had already gained the island, fell back to its rear, and threw several rockets from a house which stood there; but they were very soon dislodged by one of the gun boats, in which a 24-pounder was brought to bear upon the house, and with great difficulty escaped from the island; when, joining the troops who had been previously repulsed, they were all conducted back to the British fleet. When that division of the enemy, which was composed of his seamen and marines, had been foiled in its attempt to land, lieutenant Neale gave directions to his intrepid sailors, to haul up the boats which had been sunk, and to assist the British sailors and marines, who were making, for safety, to the shore. The Centipede was accordingly drawn up, and a small brass 3-pounder, a number of small arms, and a quantity of pistols and cutlasses, taken out of her. 22 of her men came on the island with her, and surrendered themselves as deserters. In this warm and spirited engagement, in which 3,000 British soldiers, sailors and marines, were opposed to 480 Virginia militia, and 150 sailors and marines, the loss on the side of the invaders, in killed, wounded, and drowned, was upwards of 200, exclusive of 40 deserters: on the side of the invaded, not a man was either killed or wounded.



By the gallant services of the defenders of this island, the safety of the town of Norfolk was, for a time at least, secured; and to the intrepid bravery and indefatigable exertions of lieutenant Neale, and his companions, Shubrick, Saunders, and Breckenbridge; of lieutenant colonel Beatty, and his officers, major Faulkner, captain Emerson, and lieutenants Howl and Goodwin; and 2 non-commissioned volunteers, sergeant Young and corporal Moffit, and the valiant men, who assisted in the defence of the island, the gratitude of the citizens of Norfolk, and the surrounding towns, Portsmouth, Gosport, and others, has been frequently manifested.

Immediately after this repulse of the British, a conference was held between admirals Warren and Cockburn, and sir Sidney Beckwith; the result of which was, a determination to avenge the loss they had sustained, and to facilitate the success of their next attempt, by cutting off the communication between the upper part of Virginia and the borough of Norfolk. This communication, they supposed to be entirely commanded by the small garrison at Hampton, an inconsiderable town, 18 miles distant from Norfolk, and separated from it by Hampton Roads. Their troops, exasperated at the failure of the recent expedition against Crany island, were well disposed to retaliate the consequences of a repulse; and their commanders availing themselves of the intemperate spirit which was manifested throughout the fleet, resolved on forwarding an expedition against this weak position, with the least possible delay. All things being ready upon their part, they proceeded on the 25th, 3 days after the late engagement, with upwards of 2,000 men, in a large squadron of their principal barges. Of these, the 102d regiment, 2 companies of Canadian chasseurs, and 3 companies of marines, composed the advance, under lieutenant colonel Napier. The remainder of the troops consisted of royal marine battalions, under lieutenant colonel Williams; the whole commanded by sir Sidney. A number of launches and rocket boats, filled with sailors, and covered by the sloop of war Mohawk, captain Pechell, were commanded by admiral Cockburn, and directed to take a station before the town, to throw in the rockets, and keep up a constant cannonade, whilst the troops under sir Sidney, should land at a distance of several miles be-

low the town, and gain the rear of the undisciplined American militia. The plan of operations being thus arranged, the movement was commenced at the dawn of day; and, with this irresistible force and equipment, the enemy proceeded to assault a garrison, of 349 infantry and rifle, 62 artillerymen, with four 12's and three 6's and 27 cavalry: making in all, a force of 438 men.

On the approach of that division of the enemy, which was to attack from the water, major Crutchfield, the commandant at Hampton, immediately formed his troop on Little England Plantation, which was divided from the town by a narrow creek, over which a slight bridge had been previously constructed. The enemy's barges were approaching this creek, and keeping up a fire of round shot, until they gained Blackbeard Point, when the four 12-pounders were opened upon them, with so much effect, that admiral Cockburn thought it advisable to draw back and shelter himself behind the point. Thence he continued to throw his rockets, and 12's and 18's nearly an hour, without doing the smallest injury to the encampment; his shot either falling short of his object, or going over it.

Meantime sir Sidney had landed, and was coming down the great road on the rear of the Americans, when major Crutchfield being apprised of his march, had despatched a rifle company under captain Servant, to conceal themselves in a wood, near which the invaders would be obliged to pass. Captain Servant executed his orders with the utmost precision, and annoyed the advancing British column with great severity. But his force was too inefficient, to sustain a contest of any length of time; and major Crutchfield, seeing that the barges would not approach until they knew of the arrival of sir Sidney within the camp, drew out the infantry forces to the aid of the riflemen, and to prevent the enemy cutting off his retreat. As this portion of the Americans were marching in column, near a defile which led to Seley's road, they were fired upon by the enemy's musketeers from a thick wood at 200 yards distance. Major Crutchfield immediately wheeled his column into line, and marched toward the thicket to return the fire, and rout the enemy. He had not advanced 50 yards, before the British delivered him a fire from two 6-pounders, accom-

panied by an unexpected discharge of rockets. Being now apprised of the danger of proceeding in that direction against ordnance, with so small a force, he wheeled again into column, and attempted to gain a passage through the defile, in the woods; at the extremity of which captain Servant, with his riflemen, had heretofore kept the British in continued check. His column, under the fire from the two 6's was not formed with as much celerity as it had been displayed, but he succeeded at length in putting it in marching order, and proceeded to the defile. Captain Cooper, with the cavalry, was at this moment engaged with the enemy's left flank; and, notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already experienced in patrolling, he annoyed them so successfully, that the British general, augmenting the strength of that flank, issued a direction to cut him off. In this the enemy did not succeed: and captain Cooper, drawing up his troop in a charging column, effected his retreat with great skill and intrepidity.

The column under major Crutchfield, had now gained, and were pressing through the defile, under a constant fire from the enemy's 6-pounders. It had just attained the wood, on the left of the riflemen, when a third 6-pounder opened upon it, and, in conjunction with the others, threw into confusion the different companies of which the column was composed. Several platoons immediately took up their retreat; but, those which were nearer the head of the column, led on by major Crutchfield and major Corbin, wheeled with great judgment into the wood, and forming on the rifle corps under their separate captains, Shield and Herndon, kept up the action with an unflagging spirit, until it was deemed necessary for the whole body to retreat. Captain Pryor, who had been left in the encampment with the artillery, to continue the fire upon the enemy's barges, resisted their approaches until the sailors had landed in front of the town, and the British troops were in his rear. They had already advanced within 60 yards of his battery; his corps were ready to yield themselves up as prisoners of war, and the royal marines were preparing to take them. They saw no possibility of escaping, until their gallant commander gave an order to spike the guns, and break through the enemy's rear. Intrepid as himself, they instantly executed



his commands; and pressing furiously through the British marines, whom they threw into a temporary derangement, found their further escape obstructed by the creek. Captain Pryor still determined on retiring beyond the enemy's reach, threw himself into the creek, and commanding his men to follow, with their carbines, effected the retreat of his corps in good order, and without an individual loss. Such was the disparity of force, when the barge crews, and the troops of the enemy had effected a union, that the retreat of the whole American detachment, became indispensable, and major Crutchfield gave an order to that effect. The British general pursued the retreating column about 2 miles without effecting any purpose, though the latter frequently halted, formed behind fences, and delivered a smart fire.

The American loss, in this action, amounted to 7 killed, 12 wounded, 11 missing, and one prisoner—total, 31. The British loss, by the acknowledgment of many of their officers, amounted to 90 killed, and 120 wounded—total, 210. Among these were one colonel and one captain of marines, killed; and 3 lieutenants, wounded. Admiral Warren's official letter, however, allows but 5 killed, 33 wounded, and 10 missing—total, 48.

If the account of the affair at Hampton, could be closed, by no further reference than to the gallantry of captains Ashly, Cary, Miller, and Brown of the militia; captain Goodall, of the United States' artillery, and lieutenants Anderson, Armistead, and Jones, who were all conspicuously engaged in it; a painful recital would have been spared, of occurrences disgraceful to the arms of the enemy, unjustified by the principles of civilized warfare, and unparalleled, even by the enormities committed on the northwestern frontier. The troops under sir Sidney, and the sailors under admiral Cockburn, no sooner found themselves in possession of the town of Hampton, than they indulged in a system of pillage, not less indiscriminate than that which had attended the visit of most of the same men to Havre de Grace. To these acts of cruelty and oppression upon the unresisting and innocent inhabitants, they added others of the most atrocious and lawless nature, the occurrence of which, has been proved by the solemn affirmation of the most respectable people of that country. Age, innocence, nor sex, could protect

the inhabitants, whose inability to escape, obliged them to throw themselves upon the mercy of the conquerors. The persons of the women were indiscriminately violated. The brutal desires of an abandoned and profligate soldiery were gratified within the view of those who alone possessed the power and authority to restrain them; and many of the unfortunate females, who had extricated themselves from one party, were pursued, overtaken, and possessed by another. Wives were torn from the sides of their wounded husbands; mothers and daughters, stripped of their clothing in the presence of each other; and those who had fled to the river side, and as a last refuge had plunged into the water, with their infant children in their arms, were driven again, at the point of the bayonet, upon the shore, where neither their own entreaties and exertions, nor the cries of their offspring, could restrain the remorseless cruelty of the insatiable enemy, who paraded the victim of his lust through the public streets of the town. An old man, whose infirmities had drawn him to the very brink of the grave, was murdered in the arms of his wife, almost as infirm as himself, and her remonstrance was followed by the discharge of a pistol into her breast. The wounded militia, who had crawled from the field of battle to the military hospital, were treated with no kind of tenderness, even by the enemy's officers, and the common wants of nature were rigorously denied to them. To these transcendent enormities, were added the wanton and profligate destruction, not only of the medical stores, but of the physician's drug-rooms and laboratories; from which only, those who had been wounded in battle, and those upon whose persons these outrages had been committed, could obtain that assistance, without which, they must inevitably suffer the severest privations.

Two days and nights, were thus consumed by the British soldiers, sailors, and marines; and their separate commanders, were all that time quartered in the only house, the furniture and interior decorations of which, escaped destruction. On the morning of the 27th, at sunrise, apprehensions being entertained of an attack from the neighbouring militia, whom it was reasonably conjectured, the recital of these transactions would rouse into immediate action, the British forces were ordered to em-

bark; and in the course of that morning they departed from the devoted town, which will immemorially testify to the unprovoked and unrelenting cruelty of the British troops. They had previously carried off the ordnance which had been employed in the defence of the town, as trophies of their victory; but when they determined on withdrawing from the place, they moved away with such precipitation, that several hundred weight of provisions, a quantity of muskets and ammunition, and some of their men were left behind, and captured on the following day by captain Cooper's cavalry. Having abandoned their intentions of proceeding to another attempt on the defences of Norfolk, the whole fleet stood down to a position at New-Point-Comfort, where they proposed watering previously to their departure from the bay, on an expedition against a town in one of the eastern states.

Such was the agitation of the public mind, throughout Virginia, which succeeded the circulation of the account of the assault on Hampton, that representations were made to general Robert R. Taylor, the commandant of the district, of the necessity of learning from the commanders of the British fleet and army, whether the outrages which had been committed, would be avowed, or the perpetrators punished.—That able officer, immediately despatched his aid to admiral Warren, with a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and a protest against the proceedings of the British troops, in which he stated, that “the world would suppose those acts to have been approved if not excited, which should be passed over with impunity;” that he “thought it no less due to his own personal honour, than to that of his country, to repress and punish every excess;” that “it would depend on him (Warren), whether the evils inseparable from a state of war, should in future operations be tempered by the mildness of civilized life, or under the admiral's authority, be aggravated by all the fiend-like passions, which could be instilled into them.” To this protest, admiral Warren replied, that he would refer it to sir Sidney Beckwith, to whose discretion he submitted the necessity of an answer. Sir Sidney, not only freely avowed, but justified the commission of the excesses complained of; and induced the American commander to believe the report of deserters, that a promise had been made to the fleet, of individual



bounty, of the plunder of the town, and of permission to commit the same acts, if they succeeded in the capture of Norfolk. Sir Sidney stated, that "*the excesses at Hampton, of which general Taylor complained, were occasioned by a proceeding at Crany Island.*" That at the recent attack on that place, the troops in a barge, which had been sunk by the fire of the American guns, had been fired on by a party of Americans, who waded out and shot these poor fellows, while clinging to the wreck of the boat; and *that, with a feeling natural to such a proceeding, the men of that corps landed at Hampton.*" The British general expressed also a wish, that such scenes should not occur again, and that the subject might be entirely at rest. The American general, however, alive to the reputation of the arms of his country, refused to let it rest, and immediately instituted a court of inquiry, composed of old, and unprejudiced officers. The result of a long and careful investigation, which was forwarded to sir Sidney Beckwith, was, that none of the enemy had been fired on after the wreck of the barge, except a soldier, who attempted to escape to that division of the British troops which had landed, that he was not killed, and that, so far from shooting either of those unfortunate men, the American troops had waded out to their assistance. To this report, sir Sidney never deemed it necessary to reply, and the outrages at Hampton are still unatoned. Many of the unhappy victims died of wounds and bruises inflicted on them, in their struggles to escape, which baffled the medical skill of the surrounding country.

## CHAPTER XV.

*British land at Ocracoke and Portsmouth—Capture two letters of marque—Distribution of admiral Warren's fleet—United States' schooner Asp—A fishing smack, the Yankee, captures the British tender, the Eagle—The frigates United States and Macedonian, and sloop Hornet, blockaded at New London—Midshipman Ten Eyke—The British at Saybrook—Engagement in Connecticut Sound—Wareham and Scituate—Occupation of Eastport, Moose Island—Attack upon Stonington—British claim the territory east of the Penobscot, and occupy Castine—Loss of the United States' frigate Adams.*

RELINQUISHING the contemplated attack upon one of the eastern ports, and adopting a plan of operations against the towns and harbours to the southward of those, which had already been assailed, admiral Warren detached the largest proportion of his fleet, under rear admiral Cockburn, to proceed on an expedition against Ocracoke and Portsmouth, two flourishing harbours in the state of North Carolina. Early in July, a force of 11 sail appeared off the first of those places; and on the 13th of that month, the rear admiral crossed the bar with a great number of barges, attacked two letters of marque, the *Anaconda*, of New York, and the *Atlas*, of Philadelphia, and after being gallantly resisted by the small crews of those vessels, carried them by boarding. The revenue cutter, which was then in the harbour, effected her escape, conveyed intelligence to Newbern of the approach of the enemy, and thus frustrated the remainder of the admiral's plans. About 3,000 men were then landed at Portsmouth, where they destroyed the private property of the inhabitants, and treated the place with no more forbearance than they had shown at Georgetown and Fredericktown. The collector of the customs was seized

and taken on board the fleet, and the building destroyed in which his office was contained. After remaining two days in possession of these places, the enemy returned to his shipping; and, not feeling himself competent to the attack on Newbern, now that its citizens were preparing to receive him, he departed with his squadron from Ocracoke, and sailed again for Chesapeake bay.

The fleet, which had been keeping up the blockade in those waters, had been divided by admiral Warren, and the different vessels distributed along the coast from New London to Cape Henry, to watch the entrances to the harbours of Connecticut, New York, and the Delaware. In the Chesapeake, no further assaults were made upon the villages, but the farm houses, the neighbouring country seats, and the stock upon the lands, and the numerous islands, which could be approached by the smallest barges, were indiscriminately plundered. Such islands were taken possession of as afforded quarters for the troops, and frequent excursions made from them against the defenceless landholders in their vicinity.

On the 14th, the United States' schooners Scorpion and Asp, being under weigh from the mouth of Yeocomico river, were pursued by two of the enemy's sloops of war; and, finding it impossible for both vessels to escape through the bay, the Scorpion continued her course, while the Asp, a dull sailing vessel, returned to the river, and was run into Kinsale creek, by her commander, sailing master Segourney. The enemy's vessels anchored near the bar, and despatched three barges filled with armed men, to assault and carry her. As these were approaching, Mr. Segourney opened a well directed fire, and compelled them, in a little time, to return. Reinforced, however, by two other barges, manned in like manner, they again approached the schooner, and carried her by boarding, though obstinately resisted by her little crew, to whom they refused to show quarter. Her commander had been shot through the body by a musket ball, and was sitting on the deck against the mast, when they carried her, and brought down her colours. In this attitude, and suffering under the severity of his wound, he was, at that moment, animating his men, to repel the boarders, when one of the British marines stepped up, and shot him through the head. He expired instantly, and the next of-



ficer, Mr. M'Clintock, seeing what would be the probable fate of the whole crew, ordered his men to save themselves by flight. Those who had not previously been wounded, reached the shore, in safety; and the enemy, having set fire to the schooner, returned to the squadron, though not before they had been fired upon by a collection of militia, who retook the vessel, and extinguished the flames.

The Poitiers 74, still commanded by sir John P. Beresford, had been stationed for several weeks at Sandy Hook, for the purpose of blockading the harbour of New York. Numbers of small vessels had been daily captured by her; and one of them, the sloop Eagle, was converted into a tender to the line of battle ship, manned with two officers and eleven marines; and equipped with a 32 brass howitzer. She was constantly employed in the pursuit and capture of the coasters, and had already committed various depredations. Commodore Jacob Lewis, who commanded a flotilla of 30 sail of gun boats, determined on protecting the fishing boats and river craft, by the capture of this tender. He accordingly hired a fishing smack, called the Yankee, and placing about 30 men on board, under one of his sailing masters (Percival), and supplying him with several articles of live stock, gave him instructions to proceed from the Hook, in the direction of the banks, with his armed men concealed in the cabin and fore peak. The sloop Eagle, upon discovering her at the Hook, immediately gave chase; and, on seeing the live stock, ordered the man at the helm, Mr. Percival, who (with two men only on deck) was dressed in the apparel of a fisherman, to steer for the 74, then lying at a distance of five miles. The fishing smack had her helm immediately put up, for that apparent purpose; and being by this means brought along side, and within three yards of the Eagle, her commander gave the signal, "*Lawrence,*" and her men rushed up with such rapidity, and discharged so brisk and unexpected a fire, that the crew of the Eagle became panic struck, and many of them ran below. Her commander, sailing master Morris, and one marine, were killed; and midshipman Price, and another, mortally wounded. Percival's men were prepared for a second discharge, when a sailor on the enemy's deck was seen creeping to the howitzer with a lighted match; one of the

crew of the Yankee, levelled his musket, and shot him in the breast, and in a second after, the flag of the Eagle came down. The sloop and the prisoners were then taken into the Hook, and delivered to the commodore, who proceeded with them to New York, where Morris and Price, (who died immediately after landing,) were buried by the naval and military authorities. Mr. Percival was promoted to the new sloop of war Peacock, and the brass howitzer was transferred to the quarter deck of the commodore's flag boat.

In consequence of commodore Decatur having proceeded with the frigates United States and Macedonian, and the sloop of war Hornet, through the sound, to get to sea from the eastward, and of his having been driven with his squadron, into New London, by a superior detachment of the enemy's ships, that port was rigorously blockaded, by the Ramilies 74, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, under commodore sir Thomas M. Hardy. Every effort to get to sea, under the auspices of dark nights and favourable winds, having proved unavailing, in consequence of the enemy being continually apprised of the designs of the American commodore, he was blockaded for many months, without a prospect of escaping, either by the ordinary channel or by the sound. Between detached parties from each squadron, several affairs of minor importance took place, during the blockade; and in one of them, midshipman Ten Eyke, of the United States frigate, made prisoners of two lieutenants, two warrant officers, and five seamen, in a house on Gardiner's island. Incursions into the neighbouring states, were frequent from the British forces; but, though extensive numbers of shipping were destroyed, the conduct of the sailors and marines, under sir Thomas Hardy, was not marked by the indiscriminate commission of unrestrained and wanton outrage, of which there were too many incidents on the coast to the southward; and the houses of the different villages, as well as individual property, were therefore almost invariably respected. The general deportment of commodore Hardy, was that of a brave, humane, and gallant enemy; and had his conduct been emulated by other commanders, the horrors and distressed conditions of a state of war, would have been ameliorated

on both sides; and the necessity of many instances of retaliatory measures, might never have existed.

During the winter months of 1813-14, scarcely an event of consequence took place, on any part of the coast, or at any of the shores of the bay and rivers, in which the enemy's vessels were anchored. The town of Killingworth alone, had an opportunity of repelling three or four distinct attempts to land, and of beating off superior numbers, in British barges.

Early in the spring of 1814, however, the enemy made several movements, indicative of his intentions to pursue an active course of warfare. On the 7th of April, about 200 sailors and marines, entered Connecticut river, in a number of barges, and landed at the town of Saybrook, where they spiked the guns at a small battery, and destroyed many trading vessels. Thence they ascended the river, to Brockway's ferry, destroyed all the shipping there, and amused themselves, without any apprehensions of an attack, upwards of twenty-four hours. In the mean time, a body of militia had assembled, under command of a brigadier general of Connecticut; 100 men, and several field pieces, were stationed on the opposite shore, and two pieces and a party of men, on the ferry side below; captain Jones, and lieutenant commandant Biddle of the Hornet, arrived with a detachment of sailors from the squadron, and every thing was arranged for the capture of the whole party of the enemy. The success of the plan was inevitable; the word only of the general commanding was waited for; and, as he was making other arrangements, than those adopted by these experienced officers, the enemy drifted down the river with muffled oars, under cover of a dark night, cheered loudly, when they had passed the town of Saybrook, and escaped to the squadron, after destroying 200,000 dollars worth of shipping. Several shots were fired after them, but without effect.

About this time, the Liverpool Packet privateer was cruising with great success, against the American commerce in the sound, and had already annoyed the coasting trade, to an enormous extent. Unless this cruiser was driven from the sound, no coaster could sail from one port to another, with any assurances of safety. Com-



comodore Lewis, determined on an expedition against her. He sailed with the detachment, consisting of 13 of his gun boats, drove the privateer from the mouth of the harbours in the sound, and proceeded to Black Rock, New Haven, and Saybrook. At the latter place, he anchored on the 23d of May, and found upwards of 40 sail of coasting vessels laying there, bound eastward, but the masters of which being fearful of the privateer and the enemy's barges. The commodore was applied to for convoy; and though he knew not whether he could yield any kind of protection, against a frigate, a corvette, and an armed sloop, at that moment in the passage before New London, he took the coasters under convoy, and agreed to throw himself between them and the enemy. On the 25th, he accordingly sailed with the convoy bound for New London, and at 5, P. M. came to action with a frigate a sloop of war and a tender, and continued the engagement, until all the coasters had safely passed the enemy and arrived at New London. This being done, although the whole object of his attack was achieved, commodore Lewis determined upon trying the further effect of his hot shot. The boats were each supplied with a furnace; and whilst they were pouring hot balls into the enemy's sides, and frequently setting him on fire, they received in turn, scarcely a shot from either of his vessels. Gun boat No. 6. was alone injured; and being struck between wind and water, was immediately grounded, to prevent her sinking. The sloop of war had, by this time, withdrawn from the engagement; and the fire of the gun boats was principally directed against the frigate. She was observed several times to be on fire; one shot passed through her very near the magazine; 17 of her men were already killed, and a lieutenant and a great number of men, wounded; and the captain was on the point of surrendering, when he discovered that the gun boats had ceased firing. The night closed in immediately, was excessively dark, and the commodore found himself obliged to anchor his boats, and reconnoitre the enemy, until next morning. He intended to board the sloop, but she was stationed between the two ships, and that project was therefore useless. At daylight, observing the enemy towing away their vessels, and retreating, he instantly made signal for pursuit; but the report of the

cannonade, had brought the whole British force, consisting of 7 large sail, to their assistance, and the commodore abandoned his intention of renewing the action, and proceeded up the sound to New York, with the enemy in his rear, as far as Faulkner's island. The loss on board the flotilla, was one man by the recoiling of a gun. The frigate was supposed to be the Maidstone, of 38, and mounting 49 guns; but several sailors, who deserted from her, and were in this action, reported her to be the Hotspur, of the same force. The consequences of this engagement, and of that which took place below Crany Island, have occasioned much speculation about the utility of gun boats. In each instance, it was undoubtedly proved, that, under such circumstances as attended them, the gun boats are capable of great annoyance to the largest ships of war. Commodore Lewis, whose activity and enterprise, rendered him, of all other men, capable of manœuvring them to advantage, has saved an immense amount of property to the mercantile interest of his country, by his repeated cruises with them, in and near the sound.

But the operations of the immense naval armaments, which were maintained by the enemy, before the ports of New York, Boston, New London, and the entrance to the sound, were not to be checked by a flotilla of boats, however well appointed, consisting in all, of but 30 sail; and the whole eastern coast was therefore exposed to the ravages of the invaders. The towns and villages there, were as exposed and defenceless as those to the south; but a degree of forbearance was manifested by the commander on this station, which prevented the commission of such extensive depredations. Yet an insatiable thirst for plunder, induced many of the British cruisers to seek the destruction of every species of public property, of the most flourishing manufacturing establishments, and of vessels carrying on a trade between the eastern and other ports; and the cupidity of the sailors and marines, frequently led to the sequestration of private property. At the towns of Wareham and Scituate, they burned all the vessels at their moorings; and, at the former, which they approached under a flag of truce, they set fire to an extensive cotton manufactory. But at a place called Boothbay, they met with a spirited opposi-

tion; and in several desperate attacks, repeated on different days, and with various numbers, they were repulsed, with considerable loss, by the militia of the neighbourhood.

About the month of July, the blockading squadron, under sir Thomas Hardy, received instructions to assail, and take possession, in his Britannic majesty's name, of Moose Island, near the mouth of Kobbeskook river, opposite to the province of New Brunswick, and on the western side of Passamaquoddy Bay. This bay was adjudged by the British ministers, to be within the boundary of their possessions in North America; and, after the capture of Moose Island, their forces were directed to occupy all the towns and islands within its limits. On the 11th of that month, sir Thomas proceeded with the *Ramilies*, 74, one 60 gun ship, 3 sloops of war, and 3 transports, containing between 1500 and 2000 troops, with an intention of surprising the town of Eastport, containing about 1000 inhabitants, and situated upon Moose Island.—Against this force, no kind of opposition could be made by a small garrison, containing but 59 men, 43 of whom only, were effectives; and major Putnam, the commander, did not attempt to molest the troops, who had already landed. Formal possession was then taken of the whole island: the officers in the garrison paroled, the privates conveyed to the squadron, the fort, which then mounted but 6 small cannon, enlarged, refitted, and the battery extended to 60 pieces; and a proclamation issued by sir Thomas Hardy and lieutenant colonel Andrew Pilkington, in which they declared all the islands to have been surrendered, by the capture of Eastport; allowed 7 days' residence to such inhabitants as should refuse to swear allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and appointed a day on which they were to assemble for that purpose. About two-thirds of the people submitted to these terms, under an expectation of retaining their privileges; but in the month of August, the province of New Brunswick, in council, ordered, that the inhabitants of Moose Island, should not be entitled to the rights of their other subjects, notwithstanding their oath of allegiance; but that they should be treated as a conquered people, and placed under the control of the military authority. Eastport was soon after well fortified; and remained in possession of



the British, until the conclusion of the war; before which period, however, their garrison was frequently weakened by desertions of large bodies of their troops; the officers were often compelled to perform the duties of sentinels; and the difficulties of subsisting the army and the people daily increased, by the extreme scarcity of provisions.

Having thus secured the possession of Moose Island, and provided for its defence against any attempt to recover it by the Americans, sir Thomas sailed to his old station, before New London. On the 9th of August he made signal for the *Pactolus* frigate, 44, the *Terror* bomb ship, and the *Despatch* brig of 20 guns, to weigh anchor, and sail with the *Ramilies*, to the attack of the town of Stonington, which the commodore had been ordered to reduce to ashes. The appearance of this formidable force, before a town, which possessed but weak and inadequate means of defence, excited an alarm among the inhabitants, which the message of commodore Hardy, to move off the unoffending people of the place, was not calculated to subdue. But having complied with the terms of the commodore's note, and disposed of the women and children, they repaired to a small battery, which had been erected a few weeks before, and in which were mounted two 18-pounders, and one 6. Those who had been drilled as artillerists, were stationed at these pieces; the flag was nailed to a staff, and a small breast-work, which had been hastily thrown up, was lined with musketry. Thus arranged, the handful of militia belonging to Stonington, awaited the approach of the enemy, with painful anxiety. Expresses were forwarded to general Cushing of the United States' army, commanding at New London, for a supply of men and ammunition; and to the neighbouring districts, for a hasty levy of militia. At 8, in the evening, five barges, and a large launch, filled with men, and armed with 9-pounder carronades, approached the shore, under cover of a heavy fire of round, canister, and grape shot, and a discharge of shells, carcasses, and rockets. The Americans, reserving their fire, until the barges were within short grape distance, opened their two 18-pounders upon, and compelled them to retire out of reach of the battery. The enemy then attempted to land at the east side of the town, at a point which they supposed to be the most

defenceless. This being discovered by the militia artillerymen, the 6-pounder was immediately transported to that side of the town, and the barges were a second time compelled to retire. They returned to the shipping, with a determination to renew their attack with more vigour at the dawn of the following morning. The bombardment nevertheless continued until midnight.

Before morning the enemy's squadron was augmented by the arrival of the *Nimrod*, 18 gun brig; and at the dawn of day, the different vessels were stationed nearer to the town; the *Despatch* being within pistol shot of the battery. The barges approached the shore in large numbers, and met with as signal a repulse as on the preceding night. One of them was shattered to pieces by the 4-pounder on the east side of the town; whilst a cannonade was kept up between the 18-pounder battery and the gun brig, which resulted in her expulsion from her anchorage. She had received several shot between wind and water, and was obliged to haul off and repair. The barges again returned to the shipping, and the five vessels drifted out of the reach of the battery, made new anchorage, and continued to bombard the town, during that and the following day. On the 12th, commodore Hardy, relinquishing any further attempt to reduce the town to ashes, and having already lost 21 men killed, and upwards of 50 wounded, ordered his squadron to weigh anchor, and proceed up Fisher's Island sound. The inhabitants of Stonington were released from their apprehensions about the safety of their dwellings; and the women and children, some time after restored to their homes. Notwithstanding the bombardment had been protracted to three successive days, and upwards of sixty tons of metal had been thrown upon the shore, not a man of the militia was killed, and the number of wounded did not exceed six. Among them was lieutenant Hough, who as well as colonel Randal, and lieutenant Lathrop, greatly contributed, by their activity and skill, to the repulse of the enemy. Stonington contained, at the time of the attack, about one hundred houses; forty of these were injured by the shot, but ten only materially; and but two or three entirely destroyed.

Not content with possessing Moose island, and other islands of the bay, the British claimed, as a colony, all

that part of the district of Maine, lying to the west of, and between, Penobscot river and Passamaquoddy bay; and instructions were also forwarded to sir John C. Sherbrooke, the governor of Nova Scotia, and rear admiral Griffeth, commanding the naval forces within that province, to take possession of all that territory. These commanders entered the Penobscot river on the 1st of September; appeared before Castine, from which the garrison fled, after blowing up the fort, and which the British immediately occupied. A proclamation was then issued by the governor and the admiral, in which they claimed as the territory of H. B. M. that part of the province of Maine, east of the Penobscot, in which there were more than 40 villages, and upwards of 30,000 inhabitants. After possessing Castine, many of these villages were gradually occupied, and ordinances were established for the civil and military government of the people. Castine, also remained in the hands of the enemy until the conclusion of hostilities.

The United States' frigate Adams, captain Morris had arrived in the Penobscot, from a successful cruise, a few days before the occupation of Castine; and having run upon the rocks near that port, was obliged to be hove down at Hampden, thirty-five miles up the river, to have her damages repaired. On the 3d of September, the British sloop *Sylph* of 22, the *Peruvian* of 18, and one transport and ten barges, ascended the river, manned in all with about 1000 men, from Castine, under command of commodore Barrie, with a determination to capture the frigate. Captain Morris erected several batteries on eminences near his vessel; supplied the militia, who were without arms, with the ship's muskets, and made every preparation to repulse the enemy. Notwithstanding these judicious arrangements, and the readiness of the ship's crew to resist the enemy's attempts, the militia could not be brought to oppose an inferior number of British regulars; and flying precipitately from the ground, left no other alternative to captain Morris, than to surrender his crew, or to destroy the Adams, and retreat to Bangor, or Kennebeck. Under the direction of lieutenant Wadsworth, of the ship, the sailors and marines retired in good order, over a bridge, which crossed a deep creek; but, captain Morris and a few men, who remained to set fire



to the vessel, having succeeded in blowing her up, were cut off from this retreat, and compelled to plunge into the river, and effect their escape by swimming. Disappointed in the object of their expedition, the British returned to Castine, and conducted an incursive warfare against the towns in the vicinity of that port.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*The Navy—United States' gun brig Argus, captured by the sloop of war Pelican—The Boxer and the Enterprise—Allen and Burrows—Commodore Rodgers and the Plantagenet—The Constitution chased into Marblehead—Commodore Lewis—Cruise of the Essex frigate—Her capture—United States' sloop of war Peacock, vanquishes the British sloop of war Epervier—Cruise of the new sloop of war Wasp—Her conquest over the Reindeer—She sinks the Avon.*

THE government of the United States, having deemed it expedient, in the spring of 1813, to send an ambassador to France, at which court they were not then represented, the American gun brig Argus, lieutenant commandant Wm. H. Allen, of 18 guns, was despatched to L'Orient, with Mr. Crawford, the minister plenipotentiary, appointed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that power. After having landed the minister, she was ordered to cruise in the vicinity of the British channel, where she arrived about the middle of June, and continued to cruise until the same time in August. During this period, she captured in St. George's channel, upwards of 20 vessels, coasters and others, and excited a great degree of alarm among the towns upon the English coasts. In consequence of her activity in making captures, and the danger to British vessels of passing through the channel, the insurance upon coasters could no longer be obtained in England, but at an amount very far exceeding the double premium; and though numerous vessels of war, of all rates and descriptions, were floating at the docks, the Argus was al-

lowed to maintain her cruise in this neighbourhood for two full months. The attention of the admiralty was at length, however, awakened; and, on the 12th of August, the sloop of war Pelican, captain J. F. Maples, of 21 carriage guns, was ordered to cruise in search of the hostile stranger. On the 14th, at 4, A. M. by the light of a brig then on fire, the two vessels were brought in sight of each other. The Argus immediately close hauled on the starboard tack, and made preparations to receive the enemy. Failing in every attempt to gain the weathergage, captain Allen, at half past 5, shortened sail, and waited for the Pelican to close. A few minutes afterwards the Pelican displayed her colours; the Argus hoisted the American flag, wore round, and within grape distance, gave her a larboard broadside; which being returned, the action commenced within the range of musketry. At the second fire from the Pelican, captain Allen fell. He was wounded severely in the leg, but remained on deck until several broadsides were exchanged; when, being quite exhausted by the excessive loss of blood, he yielded the command of the Argus to lieutenant Watson, and was taken below. Meantime the Pelican shot away the main braces, the spring-stay, gaff, and trysail mast, of the Argus. At 12 minutes past 6, her spritsail yard, and most of her standing rigging on the larboard side of the foremast, were lost; and lieutenant Watson received a wound in the head, which made it necessary that he also should be carried below. The command of the Argus now devolved on lieutenant William H. Allen, jun. whose unremitted exertions frequently defeated the enemy's attempts to get into a raking position. At 16 minutes past 6, the Pelican edged off, with an intention of getting under the stern of the Argus; but lieutenant Allen, by luffing close to, with his main-topsail *tie* aback, and giving her a raking broadside, completely frustrated this attempt. But, in two minutes after, she shot away the preventer main braces, and main-topsail of the Argus, deprived her of the use of her after sail, and thus causing her to fall off before the wind, succeeded in passing her stern, and ranged up on her starboard side. At 25 minutes past 6, the Argus having lost her wheel-ropes, and running rigging of every description, became entirely unmanageable; and the Pelican, not being materially damaged, had an

opportunity of choosing her position. She continued her fire on the starboard quarter of the *Argus*, until half past 6; when lieutenant Watson returned to the deck, and made preparations to board the enemy. The shattered condition of the brig rendered that effort impossible; and the *Pelican* took a position on her stern, and gave her a raking fire for 8 minutes, when she passed up, and placing herself on the starboard bow, continued a raking fire there until 47 minutes past 6. All this while, the commander of the *Argus* was endeavouring, without effect, to bring her guns to bear; and having nothing but musketry to oppose to the galling and effective fire of the enemy, he determined on surrendering the brig. A measure, which, in consequence of the loss of several officers, and many of the men; of the shattered state of the hull and rigging; and of the impossibility, under these disadvantages, of getting otherwise out of the combat, he would have been warranted in adopting much sooner. At the moment her flag came down, the *Pelican* was pressing to board her; and being close along side, immediately took possession. Her loss amounted to 6 killed, and 17 wounded; 5 of the latter died soon after the engagement. The loss of the *Pelican* was 3 men killed, and 5 only wounded.

Captain Allen submitted to an amputation of his leg; but every means of restoration to his health proved ineffectual; and, on the 18th, 3 days after the action, he expired in Mill Prison hospital, whence he and midshipmen Delphy (who had both his legs shot from his body at the same instant), and Edwards, were buried with the usual honours of war.

Several United States' sloops of war were about this period, upon the stocks; and it being necessary that their building and equipment should be superintended by experienced naval officers, commanders were assigned to them, previously to their being launched into their destined element. To restore to the American naval list, the name of a vessel which had been captured by a superior force, after the moment of victory over another vessel, one of these was ordered to be called the *Wasp*, and the command given to lieutenant commandant Blakely, at that time of the gun brig the *Enterprise*.



By this transfer, the command of the later vessel devolved on lieutenant commandant Burrows, to whom instructions had been given, for a cruise from Portsmouth. On the 1st of September, he sailed from that place, steered to the eastward, and on the 3d, discovered and chased a schooner into Portland, where he gained intelligence of several privateers being off Manhagan, and immediately stood for that place.\*

The British gun brig the Boxer, captain Blythe, of 14 guns; and nearly 100 men, had been fitted up at St. Johns, (New Brunswick,) for the purpose of a combat with the Enterprise, mounting the same number of guns, and very nearly the same number of men. To the crew of the Boxer, however, a detachment was added from the Rattler, upon her arrival on the United States' coast. On the morning of the 5th, the Enterprise, in the bay near Penguin Point, discovered the Boxer getting under weigh, and gave chase to her. The Boxer fired several guns, stood for the Enterprise, and hoisted four ensigns. Captain Burrows, having ascertained her character, stood out of the bay to obtain sea room; and followed by the Boxer, he hauled upon a wind until 3 P. M. At that hour he shortened sail, and in 20 minutes the action commenced, within half pistol shot. At the first broadside, captain Blythe was killed by a cannon shot through his body; and in a moment afterwards, captain Burrows fell by a musket ball. The command of the two vessels, during the whole engagement, was, therefore, maintained by the lieutenants. Captain Burrows refused to quit the deck, and at 4 P. M. received the sword of captain Blythe, from the hands of lieutenant M'Call; expressed his satisfaction at the manner of his own death, and expired about 8 hours afterwards. The colours of the Boxer had been nailed to the mast, and her first officer was, therefore, obliged to hail lieutenant M'Call, to inform him of her

\* The Enterprise is the same vessel, which, in 1801, was a schooner, in the Mediterranean, commanded by lieutenant Sterret. Under that officer, she engaged and captured, in August of that year, during the Tripolitan war, the ship of war *Tripoli*, of 14 guns, and 85 men. In this engagement she lost not a single man; whilst her antagonist, had 50 of her crew killed and wounded.

surrender, before it was known that she was vanquished. She was immediately taken possession of, and carried into Portland, with her masts, sails, and spars, cut to pieces; and, with twenty 18-pound shot in her hull. The number of her killed and wounded, could not be ascertained, no papers being on board, by which the strength of her crew could be known. Her officers, admitted the loss of 25 killed, and 14 wounded. The rigging of the *Enterprise* was much cut with grape shot, but her hull not materially damaged. Her loss was 1 killed, and 13 wounded. Lieutenant Tillinghast, and midshipman Waters, the latter of whom was severely wounded, behaved with coolness and determination; and lieutenant M'Call, who succeeded his gallant captain, sustained the reputation of the navy, by his conduct throughout the action.

On their arrival at Portland, the bodies of the deceased commanders were deposited, with the usual military ceremonies; and the prisoners were soon after removed to the interior. Both vessels were repaired with the utmost despatch; and the *Boxer*, being considered the superior vessel, was ordered by the president of the United States, to be delivered up, for the benefit of the captors, and bought from them into the service.

By the fall of these young officers, captains Allen and Burrows, the naval service experienced a heavy and almost irretrievable loss. Captain Allen had distinguished himself in a gallant manner, in the action with the *Macedonian*, at which time he was first officer to commodore Decatur; and not long after, received the approbation of his government, by a promotion to the rank of a master commandant, and to the command of the *Argus*. He sustained the reputation of a brave and courteous man, an accomplished seaman, and a friend of unswerving integrity. Captain Burrows, whose intrepidity and fortitude, instigated him to remain on the deck of his vessel, in the agonies of death, until he knew of the surrender of the enemy, possessed these inestimable qualities in no less a degree. The loss of such men, will be a fruitful source of sorrow, to those who have been their companions in arms, and to those who looked up to them for examples of usefulness and heroism.

Between this period and the commencement of the year 1814, the cruises of the ships of war of the United

States, were not attended by any of those brilliant achievements, by which they had previously, and have since that time been marked. In the month of February, of that year, the frigate *President*, returned from a cruise of about 70 days. At the entrance of Sandy Hook, after having passed the light house, commodore Rodgers, found himself in the neighbourhood of three large men of war, the nearest being the *Plantagenet* 74, captain Lloyd.—Being well assured of an attack, from one or all of the enemy's vessels, he cleared ship for action; and, though his capture was inevitable, he determined not to lose the *President*, until he could no longer fight her. In consequence of the wind and tide being both unfavourable, he was compelled to remain in his situation 7 hours, before either of them enabled him to cross the bar; and, in all that time to his great astonishment; and to the surprise and mortification of the prisoners on board, no disposition was manifested to attack the *President*, though her character was known; and she fired a gun to windward, to signify her willingness to fight, since there was no apparent possibility of escaping. The tide having changed, commodore Rodgers proceeded to New York; and captain Lloyd, after returning to England, accounted for his conduct, by alleging a mutiny in his ship, and had several of his sailors tried upon that charge.

In the succeeding month of April, the *Constitution* frigate, commanded by captain Charles Stewart, was also returning from a cruise, commenced on the 1st January. On her arrival on the coast, she was pursued by two British frigates and a brig, and chased into Marblehead. The excellent seamanship of her commander, enabled her, with difficulty to escape; and she reached Salem, without injury. During her cruise she captured the British public schooner *Pictou*; and fell in with the frigate *La Pique*, captain Maitland, who fled on the approach of the *Constitution*. No effort was left untried by captain Stewart, to overtake and bring her to action, but she escaped in the night after a long chase; and captain Maitland, on his arrival in England, was complimented by the admiralty, for his strict observance of his instructions, in flying from an American frigate.

Repeated opportunities were, about this time, given to the enemy's squadron off Sandy Hook, to engage the gun



boat flotilla. A schooner had been driven on shore; and numbers of barges, well manned and armed, were despatched to take possession of her; but commodore Lewis, ordered a detachment of his sailors to land and protect her. With a small field piece, and their small arms, they beat off the enemy, launched the schooner, and carried her to her destined port, New York. A month afterwards, the Belvidere chased the brig Regent, laden with an immensely valuable cargo close into the Hook; when the commodore, whose station was constantly at that point, immediately gave signal for a detachment of his flotilla to follow him; and placing himself, with 11 sail, between the frigate and the chase, prevented her capture; and fired upwards of 50 shot at the frigate, which stood off without returning the fire.

In a preceding chapter of this work an account is given of a plan of a cruise in the South Seas by a squadron composed of the Constitution, the Essex, and the Hornet, under commodore Bainbridge. This cruise was broken up by the engagements of the Constitution and the Hornet; and, as neither of those vessels were found by the Essex, at either of the appointed rendezvous, captain Porter obtained such additional provisions as were necessary for a long cruise. He had received intelligence of the victory over the Java, and had been informed that the Montague had captured the Hornet. He therefore determined on prosecuting the original cruise, with the Essex alone. Previously to his departure from the rendezvous on the coast of Brazil, he captured the British packet Nocton, took out of her 11,000*l.* sterling, in specie, and ordered her, with lieutenant Finch, to the United States. He then shaped his course for the Pacific, arrived at Valparaiso, on the 14th March, 1813, provisioned himself there, and running down the coast of Chili and Peru, fell in with a Peruvian corsair, on board of which were 24 Americans, detained as prisoners. Captain Porter immediately threw the guns of the corsair overboard, deprived her of all her warlike implements, released the Americans, and re-captured near Lima, one of the vessels in which they had been taken. From Lima he proceeded to the Gallapagos Islands, where he cruised from April until October; and, in that time, captured 12 armed British whale ships. The *Montezuma*,

of 2 guns and 21 men; the *Policy*, of 10 guns and 26 men; the *Georgiana*, of 6 guns and 25 men; the *Greenwich*, of 10 guns and 25 men; the *Atlantic*, of 8 guns and 24 men; the *Rose*, of 8 guns and 21 men; the *Hector*, of 11 guns and 25 men; the *Catherine*, of 8 guns and 29 men; the *Seringapatam*, of 14 guns and 31 men; the *Charlton*, of 10 guns and 21 men; the *New Zealander*, of 8 guns and 23 men; and the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, of 12 guns and 31 men; making, in all, 107 guns and 302 men: and the total amount of tonnage, 3456. Many of these vessels were pierced for 18, 20, and 26 guns, and captain Porter equipped several of them, and commissioned them as United States' cruisers and store ships. The *Atlantic*, he called the *Essex Junior*; equipped her with 20 guns, and assigned his first officer, lieutenant Downes, as her commander. This officer conveyed such of the prizes, as were to be laid up, to Valparaiso. Here he learned that a British squadron, consisting of one frigate, two sloops of war, and a store ship of 20 guns, had sailed for the Pacific, in quest of the *Essex*, and he immediately returned to captain Porter with this intelligence. The *Essex* had now been one year at sea, and as she required many repairs, captain Porter proceeded to the island of Nooaheevah, or Madison's Island, lying in the Washington group; where he completely repaired the *Essex*; and having secured three of his prizes under the guns of the battery which he had previously erected, and manned with 21 marines, under lieutenant Gamble of that corps, sailed for the coast of Chili, on the 12th December, and arrived there on the 12th January, 1814. He then looked into Conception and Valparaiso, where he learned, that the squadron of which he had been informed by lieutenant Downes, was conjectured to have been lost in doubling Cape Horn. He nevertheless, continued in the neighbourhood of Valparaiso, and was anchored in that port, with the *Essex Junior*, when commodore Hillyar, of the frigate *Phoebe*, of 36 guns, mounting (thirty long 18's, sixteen 32-pound carronades, and one howitzer, on her decks, and six 3-pounders in her tops,) 53 guns, and having a complement of 320 men; accompanied by the *Cherub* sloop of war, captain Tucker, of (eighteen 32-pound carronades, eight 24's, and 2 long 9's) 28 guns, and 130 men, arrived at

Valparaiso. The Essex, which mounted (forty 32-pound carronades, and six long 12's,) 46 guns, and had her crew reduced, by prizes, to 255 men; and, the Essex Junior, which was not competent to resist a sloop of war, mounting 20 guns, and having on board 60 men, were thus blockaded by a force of 81 guns and 500 men.

After cruising at the entrance to the harbour for 6 weeks, the Phœbe hove to, fired a gun to windward, and hoisted a motto flag, with the words, "God and our Country; British Sailors' best rights; *Traitors* offend both;" in answer, as it was thought, to captain Porter's motto of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." On the mizen of the Essex, a flag was immediately hoisted, with the words, "God, our Country, and Liberty; *Tyrants* offend them," and she got under weigh, and commenced a fire on the Phœbe. Captain Porter conceived the movements of the Phœbe to be intended as a challenge to engage him, ship to ship; but, on discovering that the Phœbe ran down to her consort, he felt convinced that commodore Hillyar would not engage the Essex alone. This conclusion was confirmed by the conduct of the two vessels, in keeping constantly within hail of each other.

Captain Porter, having now learned that the Tagus and 2 other frigates, had also sailed for the Pacific, in pursuit of him; not knowing at what time they might gain the squadron already blockading him, and seeing no advantages which his country could obtain by his remaining longer in port, determined on putting to sea; and expected, by drawing off the Phœbe and Cherub in pursuit of him, to afford an opportunity to the Essex Junior, to which he had appointed a rendezvous, of escaping.

On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, and the Essex parted her larboard cable, and dragged her starboard anchor directly out to sea; the occurrences which followed, are thus described in captain Porter's official letter:\*

\* This letter, together with an account of the entire cruise of the Essex—of the possession of the island of Nooaheevah, by captain Porter, in the name of the United States—of the intercourse established with the natives in behalf of his government—of the destruction of the enemy's commerce in those seas—of the immense expense which it cost the British govern-



“ Not a moment was to be lost, in getting sail on the  
“ ship. The enemy were close in with the point form-  
“ ing the west side of the bay; but, on opening them, I  
“ saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in  
“ my topgallant-sails, which were set over single reefed  
“ top-sails, and braced up for this purpose; but, on  
“ rounding the point, a heavy squall struck the ship, and  
“ carried away her main-topmast, precipitating the men  
“ who were aloft, into the sea, who were drowned. Both  
“ ships now gave chase to me; and, I endeavoured, in  
“ my disabled state, to regain the port; but, finding I  
“ could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close  
“ into a small bay, about three quarters of a mile to lee-  
“ ward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour,  
“ and let go my anchor within pistol shot of the shore,  
“ where I intended to repair my damages, as soon as pos-  
“ sible. The enemy continued to approach, and showed  
“ an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the  
“ neutrality of the place where I was anchored. The  
“ caution observed in their approach to the attack of the  
“ crippled Essex, was truly ridiculous; as was their dis-  
“ play of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at  
“ the mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circum-  
“ stances would admit of, got my ship ready for action,  
“ and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had  
“ not succeeded, when the enemy, at 54 minutes after 3  
“ P. M. made his attack; the Phœbe placing herself un-  
“ der my stern, and the Cherub on my starboard bow;  
“ but, the Cherub soon finding her situation a hot one,  
“ bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships  
“ kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long 12 poun-  
“ ders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so  
“ much bravery and skill, that in half an hour, we so dis-  
“ abled both, as to compel them to haul off to repair da-  
“ mages. In the course of this firing, I had, by the great  
“ exertions of Mr. Edward Barnwell, the acting sailing

ment to pursue and capture the Essex—and, of the transactions which took place, between the different tribes of natives in the Washington group, and the fleet with which he appeared there, are to be found in a “ Journal,” published by captain Porter, and accompanied by several engraved plans of those places, of the harbour of Valparaiso, and a view of the battle between the Phœbe and Cherub, and the Essex.

“master, assisted by Mr. Linscott, the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables, three different times; but, the fire of the enemy was so excessive, that, before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us. My ship had received many injuries, and several had been killed and wounded; but, my brave officers and men, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which we were brought to action, and the powerful force opposed to us, were noways discouraged; all appeared determined to defend their ship to the last extremity, and to die in preference to a shameful surrender. Our gaff, with the ensign and motto flag at the mizen, had been shot away; but, FREE TRADE AND SAILORS’ RIGHTS, continued to fly at the fore. Our ensign was replaced by another, and to guard against a similar event, an ensign was made fast in the mizen rigging, and several jacks were hoisted in different parts of the ship. The enemy soon repaired his damages for a fresh attack: he now placed himself, with both his ships, on my starboard quarter, out of the reach of my carronades, and where my stern guns could not be brought to bear; he there kept up a most galling fire, which it was out of my power to return, when I saw no prospect of injuring him, without getting under weigh and becoming the assailant. My topsail sheets and haulyards were all shot away, as well as the jib and foretopmast staysail haulyards. The only rope not cut was the flying-jib haulyards, and that being the only sail I could set, I caused it to be hoisted, my cable to be cut, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the Phœbe on board. The firing on both sides was now tremendous. I had let fall my foretopsail and foresail; but the want of tacks and sheets had rendered them almost useless to us; yet, we were enabled, for a short time, to close with the enemy; and, although our decks were now strewed with dead, and our cockpit filled with wounded; although our ship had been several times on fire, and was rendered a perfect wreck, we were still encouraged to hope to save her, from the circumstances of the Cherub, from her crippled state, being compelled to haul off. She did not return to close action again, although she apparently had it in her

“power to do so, but kept up a distant firing with her  
“long guns. The Phœbe, from our disabled state, was  
“enabled, however, by edging off, to choose the distance  
“which best suited her long guns, and kept up a tremen-  
“dous fire on us, which mowed down my brave compa-  
“nions by the dozen. Many of my guns had been ren-  
“dered useless by the enemy’s shot, and many of them  
“had their whole crews destroyed. We manned them  
“again, from those which were disabled, and one gun in  
“particular was three times manned; 15 men were slain  
“at it in the course of the action! But strange as it may  
“appear, the captain of it escaped with only a slight  
“wound. Finding that the enemy had it in his power to  
“choose his distance, I now gave up all hopes of closing  
“with him; and, as the wind, for the moment, seemed to  
“favour the design, I determined to endeavour to run  
“her on shore, land my men, and destroy her. Every  
“thing seemed to favour my wishes. We had approach-  
“ed the shore within musket shot, and I had no doubt of  
“succeeding, when, in an instant, the wind shifted from  
“the land, (as is very common in this port in the latter  
“part of the day) and payed our head down on the Phœbe,  
“where we were again exposed to a dreadful raking fire.  
“My ship was now totally unmanageable; yet, as her  
“head was toward the enemy, and he to leeward of me,  
“I still hoped to be able to board him. At this moment,  
“lieutenant commandant Downes came on board to re-  
“ceive my orders, under the impression that I should  
“soon be a prisoner. He could be of no use to me, in  
“the then wretched state of the Essex; and, finding  
“(from the enemy putting his helm up) that my last at-  
“tempt at boarding would not succeed, I directed him  
“after he had been about ten minutes on board, to return  
“to his own ship, to be prepared for defending and de-  
“stroying her, in case of attack. He took with him sever-  
“al of my wounded, leaving three of his boat’s crew on  
“board, to make room for them. The slaughter on  
“board my ship had now become horrible, the enemy  
“continuing to rake us, and we unable to bring a gun to  
“bear. I therefore directed a hawser to be bent to the  
“sheet anchor, and the anchor to be cut from the bows  
“to bring her head round: this succeeded. We again  
“got our broadside to bear; and, as the enemy was



“ much crippled, and unable to hold his own, I have no  
“ doubt he would soon have drifted out of gun shot, be-  
“ fore he discovered we had anchored, had not the haw-  
“ ser unfortunately parted. My ship had taken fire several  
“ times during the action, but alarmingly so forward  
“ and aft at this moment, the flames were bursting up  
“ each hatchway, and no hopes were entertained of saving  
“ her; our distance from the shore did not exceed  
“ three quarters of a mile, and I hoped many of my brave  
“ crew would be able to save themselves, should the ship  
“ blow up, as I was informed the fire was near the maga-  
“ zine, and the explosion of a large quantity of powder  
“ below, served to increase the horrors of our situation.  
“ Our boats were destroyed by the enemy’s shot; I, there-  
“ fore directed those who could swim, to jump overboard,  
“ and endeavour to gain the shore. Some reached it,  
“ some were taken by the enemy, and some perished in  
“ the attempt; but most preferred sharing with me the  
“ fate of the ship. We, who remained, now turned our  
“ attention wholly to extinguish the flames; and, when  
“ we had succeeded, went again to our guns, where the  
“ firing was kept up for some minutes; but the crew had  
“ by this time, become so weakened, that they all de-  
“ clared to me the impossibility of making further resist-  
“ ance, and entreated me to surrender my ship, to save  
“ the wounded, as all further attempt at opposition, must  
“ prove ineffectual, almost every gun being disabled, by  
“ the destruction of their crews.”

Captain Porter then summoned his officers of divisions to a consultation, but, to his surprise, his summons was attended by only one remaining officer, acting lieutenant M’Knight, who made the same report concerning the condition of the guns. Lieutenant Wilmer had been knocked overboard by a splinter, and was drowned; acting lieutenant Cowell had lost a leg, of which loss he afterwards died; Mr. Barnwell, the acting master, had been twice severely wounded; the acting lieutenant Odenheimer, had been knocked overboard about the same time, and did not regain the ship until she had surrendered; many of the wounded were killed, while in the hands of the surgeons; the cockpit, the steerage, the ward-room, and the birth-deck, could contain no more; and, such was the quantity of shot holes in the bottom of

the Essex, that, unless she was very soon repaired, the carpenter reported she must inevitably sink. The smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of reaching the enemy, with the carronades, enabled him to fire with the most deliberate aim at the Essex, and, seeing no hope of saving his little frigate, captain Porter, at twenty minutes past 6 P. M. gave orders to strike the colours. At this moment, 75 men only, including officers, were all that remained of the crew, fit for duty, and several of these severely wounded. The Essex had now yielded to the superior force of the enemy, who, nevertheless, still fired, and continued to do so, ten minutes after her surrender. Many of the crew were, in this time, killed: an opposite gun had been fired, to show that she intended no further resistance, yet commodore Hillyar still assailed her, and four men fell at the side of her commander. Conceiving, from this conduct, that the enemy intended to show no quarter, captain Porter determined to die with his flag flying, and was on the point of re-hoisting it, when the firing ceased.

In addition to the officers already mentioned, captain Porter speaks of Messrs. Johnson, and Bostwick, acting officers; of midshipmen Isaacs, Farragut, and Ogden, and acting midshipmen, Terry, Lyman, and Duzenbury, having behaved with much bravery, enterprise and skill.

Such was the condition of both the Phœbe and the Essex, that it was with extreme difficulty they could be kept afloat until they anchored in Valparaiso. All the masts and yards of the two British vessels were crippled, and their hulls cut up. The Phœbe had eighteen 12 pound shot below her water line, though the Essex never reached the enemy, but with her six 12 pounders. All the vessels were obliged to be repaired, to double Cape Horn, and, at Rio de Janeiro, they put in, to fit up and repair, to enable them to reach England.

In an engagement of 2 hours and 20 minutes duration, between one ship of 46 guns, six only of which could be used, and two vessels of 81 guns, the loss on the inferior side must necessarily have been excessively severe. On board the Essex, 58 men were killed: 39 severely, and 26 slightly, wounded; and 31 missing; making a total loss of 154. On board the Phœbe and Cherub, the loss was not small. The first lieutenant of the former

was killed, and captain Tucker, of the latter, severely wounded.

Commodore Hillyar made arrangements with captain Porter, in consideration of his conduct to the crew of the *Alert*; by which, the *Essex Junior* was to be dismantled of her armament, and given up to the prisoners, who were to proceed in her to the United States. Accordingly, on the 27th of April, captain Porter and his crew left Valparaiso in that ship, which, under lieutenant Downes, was furnished with a passport, to secure her admission into any of the blockaded ports of the United States. On the 5th July, they fell in with the *Saturn* razee, captain Mash, who suffered the *Essex Junior* to proceed, after an examination of her papers. Two hours after, being on the same tack with the *Saturn*, she was again brought to, the papers re-examined, and the hold overhauled, by the boat's crew and an officer. Captain Porter was informed that commodore Hillyar had no authority to make any arrangement, by which this ship should be given up, and that she must therefore be detained. He immediately ordered out a boat, manned it with a sufficient crew, and pulled off from the *Essex Junior*. The *Saturn* did not discover him, until he was out of gun shot, when she chased the boat, without success; and captain Porter landed at Long Island, upwards of 30 miles from the place at which he left the *Essex*, and immediately proceeded to New York, where he arrived, after an absence from his country of 19 months, and to which port he was followed, a few days after, by the *Essex Junior*.

The United States' sloop of war *Peacock*, captain L. Warrington, of 20 guns, and 160 men, was launched in the month of October, 1813—performed a cruise during that winter—escaped the pursuit of the enemy into St. Mary's—put to sea again, and on the 29th of April, discovered the British sloop of war *Epervier*, captain Wales, of 18 guns, and 128 men, having under convoy an English brig, and a Russian and a Spanish ship, all of whom made sail, on the approach of the *Peacock*. An engagement followed, soon after, between the two vessels of war; and, at the first broadside from the *Epervier*, the foreyard of the *Peacock* was totally disabled, by two round shot in the starboard quarter. By this circumstance, she was deprived of the use of her fore and fore top sails, and



captain Warrington was compelled to keep his ship large throughout the action, which continued 42 minutes. In this time, she received many shot through her sails and rigging, lost several top-mast and top gallant back-stays, and had 2 men wounded. Her hull not at all injured, and none of the crew killed. The Epervier struck, with 5 feet water in her hold, her main top-mast over the side; her main boom shot away, her fore mast cut nearly in two, and tottering; her fore rigging and stays shot away, her bowsprit much-injured; her hull pierced by 45 shot, 20 of which were within a foot of her water line, and 11 of her crew killed, and her first lieutenant, and 14 men wounded. She was immediately taken possession of by lieutenant Nicholson, first officer of the Peacock, who, with lieutenant Voorhees, of the same ship, had been distinguished in another naval combat. \$118,000 in specie, were found on board the Epervier, and transferred to the Peacock; and captain Warrington, having received on board the officers of the enemy's vessel, pursued his course to one of the southern ports, in company with his prize, after repairing her with the utmost diligence.

At half past 5 P. M. on the following day, being almost off the centre of Amelia Island, captain Warrington discovered two large sail in chase, which he ascertained to be frigates. At the suggestion of lieutenant Nicholson, he took all the prisoners out of the Epervier, and leaving a crew of only 15 men on board, directed her to make the best of her way to St. Mary's, whilst he stood on the wind along shore, to the southward. The frigates then separated, one being in chase of the Peacock, and the other of the Epervier. At 9 that night, the Peacock lost sight of the chaser, but continued all night to the southward. At daylight of the first of May, she shortened sail, and stood to the northward, discovered the frigate again, and was a second time chased, until 2 P. M. when the frigate gave up. In the evening, she resumed her cruise, fell in with the frigate a third time, on the morning of the 2d, and was again chased until she lost sight. On the morning of the 4th, she made Tybee light house, at the entrance of Savannah, and arrived at that port in the course of the day. Here captain Warrington found his prize, the Epervier, which had escaped with great difficulty, after beating off a launch well manned and armed, which had been des-

patched from the frigate to overtake her. Lieutenant Nicholson, by his judgment and decision, which had never been known to desert him in times of peril and difficulty, prevented her recapture. The *Epervier* was repaired, refitted, bought into the service at Savannah, and the command given to captain Downes, of the *Essex Junior*.

The conduct of lieut. Henly; of midshipmen Greeves and Rodgers; Mr. Townsend, captain's clerk, and Mr. Myers, master's mate, is represented by captain Warrington to have been cool, determined, and active. The sailing master, Percival, the same who captured the tender *Eagle*, off Sandy Hook; handled the ship in a very superior style, and placed her in such situations as were most advantageous, with much ease and professional skill.

The new sloop of war the *Wasp*, captain Blakeley, mounting 20 guns, having been completely equipped for a long cruise, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of May, 1814, between which time and the 6th of the following July, she captured 7 merchantmen, and a brig of war, the *Reindeer*, captain Manners, of 18 guns, and one shifting gun, and 118 men. This capture was made after an action of 19 minutes, in lat. 48, 36, N. and long. 11, 15, W. On that day, at 15 minutes after 4 A.M. the *Wasp* being in pursuit of two sail before the lee beam, discovered the *Reindeer* on the weather beam, and immediately altered her course, and hauled by in chase of her. The pursuit continued until half past meridian, when the *Reindeer*, having previously hoisted an English ensign and pendant, showed a blue and white flag at the fore, and fired a gun. At 15 minutes past 1, captain Blakeley called all hands to quarters, and prepared for action. At 22 minutes past 1, he tacked ship, and stood for the *Reindeer*, with an expectation of being able to weather her. At 50 minutes past 1, the *Reindeer* tacked and stood from the *Wasp*. 56 minutes past 1, the *Wasp* hoisted her colours, and fired a gun to windward, which was answered. The chase was kept up until 32 minutes past 2, when the *Reindeer* tacked for the *Wasp*; and the latter took in her stay sails, and furled the royals. Captain Blakeley having now discovered that the *Reindeer* would weather him, immediately tacked ship; and at 15 minutes past 1, the *Reindeer* being on his weather quarter, at 60 yards distance, fired her shifting gun, a 12 pound carronade,

loaded with round and grape shot. At 17 minutes past 3, the same gun was fired again; at 19 minutes past 3, it was fired a third time; at 21 minutes past 3, a fourth time; and at 24 minutes past 3, a fifth time. The Reindeer not getting sufficiently on the beam of the Wasp, the latter was compelled to receive these repeated discharges without being able to bring a gun to bear. Her helm was therefore put a-lee, and at 26 minutes past 3, captain Blakeley commenced the action with his after carronade, on the starboard side, and fired in succession. The mainsail was then hauled up. At 40 minutes past 3, the Reindeer's larboard bow being in contact with the larboard quarter of the Wasp, captain Manners directed his crew to board her. The attempt was gallantly repulsed by the crew of the Wasp, who several times beat off the enemy; and at 44 minutes past 3, were ordered to board in turn. Throwing themselves with great promptitude upon the deck of the Reindeer, they succeeded in the execution of their orders, and her flag came down at 45 minutes past 3. In a line with her ports she was cut almost to pieces; her upper works, boats, and spare spars, entirely destroyed, and on the following day her fore mast went by the board. 25 of her crew were killed, and 42 wounded, making a loss of 67 men. On board the Wasp, the injury sustained was not so material. Her rigging was destroyed, however, in several places, her foremast pierced through by a 24-pound ball, and her hull struck by 6 round shot, and many grape, though not with sufficient force to penetrate far. Her loss amounted to 5 killed, and 21 wounded, principally in boarding. Among the latter, midshipmen Langdon and Toscan, both of whom expired some days after. Having received the prisoners and their baggage on board the Wasp, captain Blakeley blew up the Reindeer on the evening of the 29th, and sailed for L'Orient to provide for the disabled part of each crew, whose wounds had become offensive in consequence of the intense heat of the weather. He arrived at that port on the 6th of July, and found that their damage could be repaired by the carpenters of the ship in a few days.

In this action, lieutenants Bury and Reily, who had been in the engagements with the Guerriere and Java, and lieutenant Tillinghast (2d), who was instrumental



to the capture of the Boxer, maintained the high credit which they acquired on those previous occasions. And captain Blakeley, whose reputation as a skilful seaman, and an expert navigator, is not surpassed by any naval officer, had his crew so well drilled, upon the principles of marine discipline, that they never despaired of vanquishing an equal force of their enemy.

In the port of L'Orient, the Wasp was detained by head winds until the 27th August, having been anchored there 52 days. During this time, every attention was given to her officers and crew by the inhabitants, and their situation, in a foreign port, rendered particularly agreeable by the assiduities of the American minister.

After leaving that place, and capturing two valuable British merchantmen, captain Blakeley fell in with a convoy of 10 sail, on the 1st of September, under the protection of the Armada 74, and a bomb ship. He stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out of the squadron, a brig laden with brass and iron cannon, and military stores, from Gibraltar; and after taking out the prisoners, and setting her on fire, he endeavoured to cut out another vessel, but was driven off by the 74. In the evening, at half past 6, he discovered 2 vessels on his larboard, and 2 on the starboard bow, and hauled for that which was farthest to windward. At 7, she was made out to be a brig of war, making signals with flags, which could not be distinguished, owing to the darkness of the night; and at 29 minutes past 9, she was under the lee bow of the Wasp. Captain Blakeley ordered the 12-pound carronade to be fired into her, and received a return from the stranger. The Wasp then ran under the lee bow of the enemy to prevent her escape, and immediately commenced an action which continued until 10 o'clock, when captain Blakeley, supposing his antagonist to be silenced, ceased firing, and hailed to know if she had surrendered. No answer being given to this demand, he recommenced firing, and the enemy returned him broadside for broadside. At 12 minutes past 10, the enemy having made no return to the two last broadsides, was again hailed to know if he had surrendered. Captain Blakeley was informed that the vessel being in a sinking condition, her commander had struck his colours. The Wasp's boats were immediately lowered, when a second brig of war

was discovered a little distance astern, standing for her. The crew were instantly sent to their quarters, and preparations made for another engagement. The Wasp was laying to for the approach of the second stranger, when at 36 minutes past 10, two other brigs were discovered standing also for her. Under these circumstances, captain Blakeley was prevented from taking possession of his prize, and keeping off the wind, with an expectation of drawing the brig, first discovered, after him, he ordered new braces to be rove, to replace those which had been shot away. His expectations were not, however, answered, the brig of war continuing in pursuit only until she was near enough under his stern, to give him a broadside, and return to her companions. This she did, and cut the rigging and sails, and shot away a lower main cross tree of the Wasp.

The name and force of the prize has since been ascertained. She was the sloop of war Avon, captain Arbuthnot, of the same number of guns as the Reindeer, and sunk immediately after the Castilian (the vessel which chased the Wasp) had taken out her last man. According to the enemy's account, her captain was wounded in both legs. The first lieutenant and 8 men killed, and the second lieutenant, 1 midshipman, and 31 men, wounded.

The Wasp received in her hull, four 32-pound shot, and in her mainmast a number of grape shot. Her sails and rigging were much damaged, but her loss in men amounted to only 2 killed, and 1 wounded. She repaired her damages on the succeeding day, and continued to cruise, in conformity to her instructions from the navy department. On the 21st of September, she captured, off the Madeiras, her thirteenth prize, the British brig Atalanta, of 8 guns, and the only one which she sent into port.—This vessel arrived at Savannah, in the beginning of November, under the command of Mr. Geisingen, one of the officers of the Wasp, with despatches from captain Blakeley.

The Atalanta left the Wasp, at sea, on the 23d of September, without knowing the destination to which her further cruise would convey her, and, since that time, no official accounts have been received from her. Her cruise was, therefore, most brilliant and unparalleled, her

sailors all young, athletic, brave and enthusiastic, and her officers among the most skilful in the service. The public mind has been, therefore, greatly agitated, by apprehensions about her safety; and her return to port looked for, with painful anxiety, by the people of the whole country.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Proposed plan of operations in Lower Canada—The army quit the quarters at French Mills—Incursion of the British to Malone—Smugglers—Movement against La Colle—Concentration of the British forces at Isle aux Noix—General Wilkinson's recall—Establishment of a battery at Otter Creek—British appear at its mouth—Are repulsed—Operations on Ontario—Lieutenant Dudley—Defence of Fort Oswego—Second appearance of the British there—Attack upon Charlotte town, on Genessee River—British land at Poultneyville—Blockade of Sacket's Harbour—An engagement at Sandy Creek, and capture of the whole British force—The British fleet retire to Kingston—The Americans blockade them—An affair near Odeltown—Death of colonel Forsythe—Expedition against Long Point, Canada—Colonel Baubee taken prisoner—Incursion to Long Wood, Canada, and defeat of the British.*

IN the winter of 1813, we left the northern army, under general Wilkinson, in quarters, the right division being at Champlain, and the left, and largest, at French Mills. Between that time and the spring of 1814, several plans of attack upon the posts of St. Philip, L'Acadie and St. John's, by the route of Hammerford, La Tortue and St. Piere, and for a simultaneous movement against Cornwall, with a view to cut off the communication between the Upper and Lower Provinces, were submitted to the war department, by the commander in chief.—Before the propositions were received at the department,



orders had been forwarded to Salmon river, directing the general to withdraw his forces from French Mills; to forward 2000 men, with a proportion of field and battering cannon, under general Brown, to Sacket's Harbour; and to fall back, with the residue of the troops, stores, and baggage, to Plattsburg.

In conformity to these orders, the flotilla, in which the army had descended the St. Lawrence, was destroyed on the night of the 12th of February; the barracks were fired on the succeeding day, and the troops abandoned their quarters, and marched toward the several places of their destination.

General Wilkinson had scarcely reached Plattsburg, before he was apprised of a movement of the enemy, with a view to the capture of a few sick men, whose extreme illness rendered it indispensable they should be left in the hospital at Malone, a short distance from the Mills. He, therefore, determined on their expulsion from the territory, in time to prevent the achievement of their object, and having made proper arrangements, for the convenience and comfort of the sick at their new quarters, he marched with all possible expedition to meet and repulse the enemy.

Colonel Scott, of the 103d British regiment, commanded the expedition against French Mills and Malone, composed of 2000 regulars, Glengarians, and militia, and accompanied by nearly 300 guides and followers. He crossed over to the Mills on the 21st, burned the arsenal at Malone, pillaged the property of individuals, and carried off several barrels of public provisions. But, hearing of the approach of the American troops, he retreated in great confusion, though not without destroying the bridges in his rear. The whole party suffered severely by a tremendous storm of snow and hail, which prevailed at the close of the day, and lost upwards of 200 deserters, who surrendered themselves to the American army.

During the following month (March), the troops were not otherwise engaged than in breaking up a system of smuggling, which had been carried on for several previous months, and which, at this period, was extended to an alarming and dangerous degree.

Near the close of March, general Wilkinson deter-

mined on establishing a battery at Rouse's Point, where he had previously discovered a position well adapted for a work, to keep in check the contemplated movement of the British fleet, destined to operate upon the lake Champlain, and which had been laid up during the winter, at St. John's, about 21 miles below the mouth of the La Colle, and 26 from Rouse's Point. After this position had been reconnoitred by his engineer, major Totten, he made an attempt to carry this object into execution, but the sudden and unseasonable breaking up of the ice, defeated the plan; and, being informed that the enemy had taken the alarm, and was condensing a force of 2500 men, at La Colle mill, 4 miles from Rouse's Point, he determined, on the opinion of his leading officers, and a report that the walls could be effectually battered, with a 6-pounder, to attack it. On the 30th, he accordingly entered Canada, and was met by a party of the enemy at Odelltown, whom he forced back more than three miles, on the route to Montreal, in the course of which, much skirmishing took place. He then resumed his march to La Colle mill, a large and lofty fortified stone house, measuring 60 feet by 40, and at that time in command of major Hancock, and a strong corps of British regulars.

To drive the enemy from this post, and to effect its destruction, general Wilkinson ordered forward an 18-pounder, and disposed his troops so as to intercept him in an attempt to retreat. The only road of approach being through a deep forest, almost inundated, and covered with insurmountable obstructions, to the passage of a heavy piece of cannon, the 18-pounder could not be brought up, and the general determined upon attempting a breach with a twelve and a five and an half inch howitzer. He took post with those pieces, under command of captain M'Pherson and his seconds, lieutenants Larrabee and Sheldon, at a distance of 250 yards from the fortified house, and covered them with the 2d brigade, composed of the 33d, 34th, 4th, and 10th regiments, and part of colonel Clarke's command, under brigadier general Smith, on the right; and the 3d brigade, composed of the 14th and 20th, under brigadier general Bissel, on the left. Colonel Miller was detached with the 6th and 12th, and

part of the 13th, to cross the La Colle, and form a line across the several roads leading from the stone house on the opposite side of the river, to cut off the retreat of the British regulars. Brigadier general M'Comb, with a select corps of the 1st brigade, formed the reserve. All these regiments were mere skeletons consolidated. This disposition being completed, the battery was immediately opened upon the enemy, who promptly returned the fire, and threw numbers of Congreve rockets upon the right wing of the American line. From these manifestations of deliberate and circumspect preparation, the commander of the American forces was induced to believe the report, that the number of the enemy amounted to 2500; his strength was inferior to that, however, though competent under the cover of strong walls, to repel an attack from a much larger number of assailants.

The stone house stood upon that side of the river on which general Wilkinson had drawn up his line; a block-house of wood stood on the other; and both were encompassed by an open piece of ground, on the edge of a wood, bordering upon which the Americans had taken post; every officer, therefore, from the lowest subaltern up to the commander in chief, was exposed to the enemy's fire. Here the general made proper arrangements to keep his corps in order, to receive a combined attack, and continued to cannonade the house, but without being able to effect a breach, although the guns were managed with uncommon skill, by officers accustomed to their use. Captain M'Pherson had been already wounded under the chin; this wound he immediately bound up, and continued to direct the fire from his piece, until a second shot broke his thigh, and rendered him unfit for further duty. His next officer, lieutenant Larrabee, was shot through the lungs, and lieutenant Sheldon kept up the fire with great vivacity, until the close of the engagement. The conduct of these gentlemen was represented by their commander to be "so conspicuously gallant as to attract the admiration of their brothers in arms."

Relying on the firmness and intrepidity of his troops, and seeing that the Americans were resolved on the longer maintenance of the cannonade, the British commander, major Hancock, determined on issuing a strong party



from the house to storm the battery, and put the assailants to flight. He gave orders for a sudden and immediate sortie, and several desperate charges were attempted upon the cannon. These were successively repulsed by the covering troops, and the enemy's regulars obliged to retire to the fortified building, with considerable loss. They then shut themselves up in the house, and convinced of their ability to retain their position, put at defiance the utmost efforts of the Americans; and general Wilkinson being now persuaded of the impracticability of making an impression, with such light pieces, upon a solid stone wall, found upon experiment to be of unusual thickness, called in his detachments, withdrew his battery, and having previously removed his dead and wounded, fell back to Odelltown at about 6 o'clock of the same day. Thence he moved to Champlain and Plattsburg, at which latter place he established his quarters. The American loss in this affair amounted to 140 in killed and wounded; among the latter lieutenants Green and Parker, of the infantry. The enemy's loss was known to be considerable in the sortie, but the amount has never been accurately ascertained.

Immediately after the incursion to La Colle, the whole regular force of Lower Canada, and a battalion of Glen-garians from Coteau de Lac, were concentrated at Isle aux Noix, and a large number of batteaux collected at St. John's. The former awaiting the movement of the British fleet, whose boats were employed in the daily examination of the ice on the lake, on the breaking up of which such movement depended. This event took place in the beginning of the month of April, and early in May the British flotilla entered lake Champlain.

Previously to their appearance on the lake; general Wilkinson had been recalled from that district, by an order from the department, of the 24th March. But, being apprised of the equipment of the enemy's flotilla, and of their intention to blockade the mouth of Otter creek, leading to the town of Vergennes, where the American fleet lay waiting for their armament, he, notwithstanding this order, visited the capes at its entrance, conferred with commodore Macdonough at Vergennes, and made arrangements to erect a battery and fortify that point.—

This precaution proved to be of incalculable service, and amply provided against an attempt to obstruct the passage of the American squadron into the lake.

On the 13th of May, not long after the battery had been constructed on the cape, a bomb vessel, and 8 large row gallies were stationed, by the enemy, across the entrance of the creek, with a view to its blockade, and to cut off supplies for a new ship just then completing, and intended to be added to the American squadron. Captain Thornton, of the light artillery, was despatched to defend the battery, and commodore Macdonough placed a number of sailors, under lieutenant Cassin, of the navy, to co-operate with the artillery. A new large gun brig, and several other gallies, being at the same time about two miles in the rear of the bomb vessel, suspicions were entertained of the enemy's intentions to land a detachment of troops, either to capture the provisions in the neighbourhood, or to assail the battery from the rear. General Davis, of the Vermont militia, immediately called out a detachment of his brigade, and made dispositions to resist an invasion. At daybreak on the morning of the 14th, the bomb ship opened her battery upon the new works, and continued the attack upwards of two hours, without doing any other injury than the dismounting of one gun. Captain Thornton, with his *matrosses*, and lieutenant Cassin, with his sailors, returned the fire with constant animation, compelled the enemy to withdraw from his position, and captured two gallies, which the British seamen were obliged to abandon. The bomb ship, and the remainder of the gallies, stood off to the other vessels, and the whole squadron proceeded down the lake, passed Burlington, and had some skirmishing with a small body of militia, under general Wright, who manœuvred so well as to persuade the enemy that his force was much stronger. During the attack, commodore Macdonough attempted to bring the American vessels down the creek, but did not succeed in reaching the mouth until the enemy had departed.

The enemy were not less active in their operations along the shores of the lake Ontario; and the commanders of the rival armaments there, lost no time in preparing and equipping their vessels, to take the lake early in

the spring. At the close of the preceding autumn, they had manœuvred with uncommon skill, though not with equal success, the one to draw his enemy into an engagement, the other to avoid fighting, for the supremacy of the water, until his fleet should be augmented by an additional force. At Kingston, an immense vessel was building for that purpose; and, at Sacket's Harbour, a new ship was ordered, of a sufficient size to maintain the existing equality. Whilst these vessels were constructing, various plans were continually adopted to destroy them, and all the caution of one party, became necessary to guard against the vigilance of the other. On one occasion, the 25th of April, three of the enemy's boats succeeded in getting close in with the harbour, when lieutenant Dudley, of the navy, being the officer of the guard, detected and fired upon them. Each boat was provided with two barrels of powder, attached to each other by means of ropes, and intended to be placed under the stocks of the vessels. Upon being fired at, they immediately threw the powder into the lake, to prevent an explosion of their own boats, and pulled off without returning a shot.

Failing in all his attempts to destroy the hull of the new ship, the British commander determined upon intercepting her rigging, naval stores, and guns. These had been deposited at Oswego, about 60 miles from the harbour, and thither sir James Yeo, and lieutenant general Drummond, resolved to sail with the whole fleet, and a competent number of troops, to land and storm the fort, and capture this valuable booty. Accordingly, on the 5th of May, sir James appeared before the fort, with 4 large ships, 3 brigs, and a number of gun boats, barges and transports—the transports principally containing the troops of lieutenant general Drummond. The successful issue of this expedition, would have given to the British forces, for a time at least, a decided superiority on the lake, and, without knowing that the stores had been previously removed from Oswego, they commenced an attack, which was kept up for nearly two days, the brilliant and unusual resistance to which, did not, however, avail the American garrison. The fort mounted but 5 old guns, 3 of which were almost useless, and had a shore battery of one 12-pounder. It had been garrisoned but a



few days, by lieutenant colonel Mitchell of the artillery, and 290 men. The schooner Growler, having on board captain Woolsey and lieutenant Pearce of the navy, was at that time in Oswego creek, receiving the cannon which had not yet been removed. The enemy were no sooner discovered, than the Growler was sunk to prevent the capture of the cannon, and all the tents in store were immediately pitched, on the village side of the creek, to persuade the enemy that the Americans were numerous. Under lieutenant Pearce, the few sailors of the Growler were added to the garrison; the shore battery was commanded by captain Boyle, who was seconded by lieutenant Legate.

At about 1 o'clock, 15 large boats, crowded with troops, moved, at a given signal, to the shore, preceded by several gun boats, which were sent forward to cover the landing; whilst all the larger vessels opened a heavy fire upon the little fort. The contest was kept up with great vigour and equal vivacity; the fort itself returned a very animated fire; and the shore battery, succeeded twice in repulsing the debarking boats, and at length compelled them to retire to their shipping. The whole squadron then stood off, and anchored at a distance from the shore; one of their boats, being 60 feet in length, and carrying 36 oars and 3 sails, was so much shattered, that her crew abandoned her, and she fell into the hands of the American artillery.

Though the British were thus compelled to retire from the assault of the fort, it was by no means to be supposed that they had relinquished their intention of storming and possessing it. The immense superiority of their force and means, would not justify such a supposition, and colonel Mitchell was therefore particularly vigilant. He stationed picquet guards at the different points of debarkation, kept his men upon their arms during the night, and neglected no measure of precaution. Mortified at so successful a resistance, by a force known to be so much inferior and protected by weak batteries, the enemy determined to effect a landing under cover, as well of their large vessels, as of the gun boats, and at daybreak of the 6th, they approached the shore again. They were early discovered coming up, under easy sail, and soon after the principal ship, the Wolf, and the other frigates, re-

sumed their position before the fort and battery, whilst the brigs, schooners, and gun boats, proceeded higher up to cover, by their fire, the landing of the troops. The Wolf, and the frigates, kept up the cannonade for three hours, whilst the land forces, to the number of 1700, composed of one column of De Watteville regiment, led by lieutenant colonel Fischer, on the left; a second column of a battalion of marines, under lieutenant colonel Malcolm, supported by a detachment of 200 seamen, under captain Mulcaster, the second officer of the fleet, on the right; succeeded under a tremendous fire from the brigs and schooners, in gaining the shore, where their advance was resisted by lieutenant Pearce of the navy, and a small party of seamen. The landing being effected, colonel Mitchell withdrew to the rear of the fort, united with the sailors, two companies of artillerymen, under captain Melvin, and lieutenant Ansart, and assailed the invading columns, whilst the companies of captains M'Intire and Pierce of the heavy artillery engaged the enemy's flanks. Thus formed, he sustained a vigorous and desperate conflict upwards of 30 minutes, in which great slaughter was made among the enemy, and a severe loss experienced by the troops of the garrison. Against a force, however, which amounted to ten times their own number, it was found useless for the Americans longer to contend; and colonel Mitchell accordingly fell back, about 400 yards from the enemy, where he formed his troops and took up his march for the falls, 13 miles in the rear of the fort, upon Oswego river, to which place the stores had been previously removed. He retired in such good order, as to be able to destroy the bridges in his rear, notwithstanding he was pressed by a numerous foe.

The enemy then took possession of the fort, and barracks, but for the little booty which he obtained, consisting of a few barrels of provisions, and whiskey, he paid much more than an equivalent. His loss, in killed, amounted to 70; in wounded, drowned, and missing, 165; in all 235. Among these, were captain Haltaway killed, and captains Mulcaster, Popham, and Ledergrew, and 2 lieutenants and 1 master wounded. In the noble and obstinate resistance which they made, the Americans lost lieutenant Blaney, an officer of high promise, and 5 men killed, 38 wounded, and 25 missing; in all 69 men.

On the morning of the 7th, the enemy finding that the object of the expedition, though prosecuted with a force including the ships' crews, of 3000 men, had not been achieved, evacuated the place, after firing the barracks, spiking some, and carrying off others, of the guns.

On the 9th, they returned to Oswego and sent a flag into the village, informing the inhabitants of their intention of landing a large force to proceed to the falls for the execution of their original plan; but on being assured by the people that the stores had been removed from that place, and that the communication was cut off by the destruction of the bridges, they quitted Oswego, and stood for Kingston.

On the evening of the 12th, 4 ships, 2 brigs, and 5 gun boats, of this squadron, were discovered shaping their course for Charlotte, a town near the mouth of the Genessee river. At this town, a corps of volunteers, amounting to 160 men, and having one field piece, had been stationed for its defence; and the commanding officer, on the appearance of the fleet, immediately despatched expresses to general P. B. Porter, who arrived there early on the morning of the 13th.—In answer to a flag, which had been sent ashore, with a demand for the surrender of the place, general Porter returned a positive refusal. Two gun boats, carrying between 2 and 300 men, then entered the river, and opened a fire upon the town and battery, which they continued, with little effect, for an hour and a half. The commodore sent in a second flag, with a repetition of his demand, accompanied by a threat to land 1200 regulars, to destroy the town. By this time the women and children were all removed, about 350 militia collected, and dispositions made to cut off the gun boats, if they should approach further up the river. Being well assured of the determination of his men, to resist the landing of the enemy, general Porter repeated his reply to the commodore's demand. At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the gun boats retired to their shipping, after having thrown a great quantity of rockets, shells, and round shot, without doing any material injury, and the fleet took its departure from the vicinity of Charlotte.

In the evening of the same day, this force proceeded to Poultneyville, a village on the border of the lake, and demanded the peaceable surrender of the public stores.



The inhabitants were incompetent to repel the invaders, and the British commodore landed a party of sailors and marines, who captured a quantity of damaged flour, and were committing depredations upon individual property, when the arrival of brigadier general John Swift, of the New York militia, with 130 volunteers, put them to a precipitate flight. Their boats hastily pulled off to the fleet, when a vigorous cannonade commenced, and several old houses were pierced by the 18 and 24-pound shot. The enemy did not attempt to re-land, but soon weighed anchor, and being joined by other vessels of the squadron, steered for Sacket's Harbour.

Nine miles distant from the harbour the fleet cast anchor, in different positions, on the 19th, to enable them to cut off all communication between it and other places on the lake. The new ship, the *Superior*, a frigate of uncommon beauty and dimensions, had been launched there on the 1st of the month. Her equipments, for the capture of which the enemy had so vigorously assaulted fort Oswego, had mostly arrived by land conveyances, and sir James Yeo being ignorant of this circumstance, and supposing the Americans dependent entirely on their free and ready access to the lake, for the possession of these supplies, commenced the blockade of the harbour, with the sole view of intercepting them. Upon learning, as he afterwards did, that the new ship was receiving her armament, and equipping with great expedition, he broke up the blockade, and proceeded with his fleet to Kingston.

Some cannon and ordnance stores, intended for the vessels of the American fleet, had, in the mean time, arrived at Oswego from the interior. Another new vessel, intended to be called the *Mohawk*, was then on the stocks, and, to prepare her for the lake in the early part of June, these stores, as well as those which had been removed to Oswego falls, were indispensably necessary. To transport them by land would be attended with difficulties and delays, which recent experience had taught the American commanders to avoid, and commodore Chauncey, finding now an unobstructed passage to the lake, directed captain Woolsey to convey them in a flotilla of barges (in which he could ascend the small creeks, if pursued by the enemy) to their point of destination. To give security to the passage of the barges, brigadier

general Gaines, who commanded the land forces at the Harbour, despatched major Appling, of the rifle regiment, with 120 officers and men, to co-operate with captain Woolsey, in escorting the flotilla. The barges, 19 in number, were then at the falls of Oswego, and previously to their movement to the lake, captain Woolsey had caused a report to be circulated that the naval stores were to be forwarded to the Oneida lake. The watchful enemy had several gun-boats at that time hovering about the numerous creeks, which discharge themselves into the lake Ontario, and examining every cove, by the aid of which, small barges might elude their vigilance. On the 28th of May, captain Woolsey, having previously reconnoitred the mouth of the Oswego creek, and finding a clear coast, brought his flotilla over the rapids, and reached the village of Oswego at sunset. Availing himself of the darkness of the night, he put into the lake, with major Appling and his men, distributed in the several batteaux. A small party of Oneida Indians were despatched to Big Salmon river to meet the flotilla there, and to proceed along the shore to Sandy creek, in which captain Woolsey's orders obliged him to make a harbour.

At the dawn of the 29th, after having rowed 12 hours in extreme darkness, and under a heavy fall of rain, the barges arrived at Big Salmon, and were met by the Indians, commanded by lieutenant Hill, of the rifle corps. The flotilla then proceeded on its passage, and arrived, in the course of the day, at a point 2 miles up Sandy creek. Thence a look-out boat, under lieutenant Pearce, was despatched on the 30th, to reconnoitre between its mouth and Stony Point. This boat was discovered by 3 gun-boats, 3 cutters, and a gig, under captain Popham, and chased into the creek. No doubt being entertained that the enemy would pursue lieutenant Pearce up the creek, dispositions were immediately made by major Appling, and captain Woolsey to draw him into an ambuscade. He very soon appeared, and at 8 o'clock, A. M. commenced a cannonade at long shot. At 10, he landed a party, and pushed his gun-boats and cutters up the creek, occasionally firing into the woods as he ascended. Major Appling, who had posted his men in a judicious manner along the bank, below the point at which the American barges were moored—then suddenly rose from

his concealment, poured upon the enemy a rapid and destructive fire, and in 10 minutes, killed 1 midshipman and 13 sailors and marines, wounded 2 lieutenants and 28 sailors and marines, and took prisoners the remainder of the party, consisting of two post captains, and 4 lieutenants of the navy, 2 lieutenants of marines, and 133 men. The whole party amounted to 185. The gun-boats and cutters, necessarily fell into the hands of the Americans, who lost but 1 man slightly wounded.

A squadron of dragoons, under captain Harris, and a company of light artillery, under captain Melvin, with 2 field pieces, arrived in the neighbourhood at the commencement of the action, but did not participate in it. Major Appling was soon after breveted a lieutenant colonel, and his officers, lieutenants M'Intosh, Calhoun, Macfarland, Armstrong, and Smith, and ensign Austin, were publicly thanked by the commanding general officer at Sacket's Harbour. Captain Woolsey, and his officers, lieutenant Pearce, sailing master Vaughan, and midshipmen Mackey, Hart, and Caton, who had been ordered to Oswego to superintend the transportation of the cannon and stores, acquitted themselves in a masterly and courageous manner.

The cannon were soon after transported to the Harbour, and the new frigate Mohawk was launched on the 11th of June, and very speedily armed and equipped to join the squadron, which then consisted of 9 vessels, carrying in all about 251 guns.

The result of this affair was sensibly felt throughout the British fleet; it deprived them of a number of experienced seamen; and several valuable and intrepid officers, and they were compelled to remain in Kingston harbour until their places were supplied, and the squadron enlarged by an immense new ship then building there, and intended to carry 112 guns. Commodore Chauncey sailed round the lake in the course of the month, and frequently stationed himself before Kingston, to draw out the enemy's squadron.

Until their new ship was completed, they determined, however, to remain in port, and in that interval, no hostile event took place upon lake Ontario.—Nor, indeed, was any warlike attitude assumed in its neighbouring lake Erie, or the lake Champlain, before the commencement



of the summer. From the borders of the latter, lieutenant colonel Forsythe, of the rifle corps, on the 28th of June, made an incursion into Canada as far as Odelltown, where an affair took place with a detachment of the enemy, from the post of La Colle. The colonel made an attack, retreated, and attempted to draw the enemy into an ambuscade; but in his zeal, discovered himself and his party too soon, and an engagement took place before the British were ensnared. 17 of their number were killed; among them the celebrated partizan commander, captain Mahue, who was shot by lieutenant Riley. Colonel Forsythe, who had heretofore been a terror to the enemy, was wounded in the neck, of which wound he died a few days after, and was buried with military honours at Champlain. The command of this corps was then transferred to lieutenant colonel Appling.

From Erie, colonel Campbell, of the 19th regiment, crossed over the lake with 500 men to Long Point, where he landed, and proceeding to the village of Dover, destroyed the flour mills, distilleries, and all the houses occupied by the soldiers, as well as many others belonging to the peaceable inhabitants of the village. A squadron of British dragoons, stationed at that place, fled at the approach of colonel Campbell's detachment, and abandoned the women and children, who experienced humane treatment from the Americans. Colonel Campbell undertook this expedition without orders, and, as his conduct was generally reprobated, a court of inquiry was instituted, to examine into his proceedings, of which general Scott was president. This court declared, that the destruction of the mills and distilleries was according to the usages of war, but that in burning the houses of the inhabitants, colonel Campbell had greatly erred. This error they attributed to the recollection of the scenes of the Raisin and the Miami, in the western territories, to the army of which, colonel Campbell was at that time attached, and of the recent devastation of the Niagara frontier.

During these events of the winter and spring of 1814, the British had collected in the neighbourhood of the river Thames, and at the Delaware town, situated upon that river, a very respectable force of regulars, militia, and Indians; and several expeditions were planned and

set on foot against them by colonel Anthony Butler, who commanded the American forces in the Michigan territory. In the month of February, captain Lee, who had been formerly a cornet in the Michigan dragoons, was sent into the vicinity of the enemy, with about 14 mounted men. Many miles in the rear of the British forces, he made prisoners of several officers, and among them, the famous colonel Baubee, who commanded a party of Indians, and assisted in the depredations committed on the New York frontier. Captain Lee contrived, by his judicious management, to bring them over to Detroit, without detection.

Upon their arrival there, colonel Butler projected an enterprise, under captain A. H. Holmes, of the 24th regiment, to whom he assigned the command of 160 rangers and mounted infantry, and despatched him, on the 21st of February, against several of the enemy's posts. On the 3d of March, at the distance of fifteen miles from Delaware, captain Holmes received intelligence that the enemy, whose force consisted of a company of 100 men, of the Royal Scots, under captain Johnson, 45 of the 89th regiment, under captain Caldwell, 50 of M'Gregor's militia, and the same number of Indians, being in all 246 men, had left the village with an intention of descending the river. Captain Holmes' party had already suffered, and been reduced by hunger and fatigue, and 16 of his men, who were unable to march further, sent back to Detroit; with the remainder, he did not deem it prudent to give battle to the enemy, without the advantage of the ground, and, therefore, fell back, five miles, to a position on Twenty Mile Creek, leaving captain Gill, with a rear guard of 20 rangers, to follow.

This guard was overtaken by the enemy, and after exchanging a few shots, effected a retreat to the position which captain Holmes then occupied. At Twenty Mile Creek, there was a deep and wide ravine, bounded, on each side, by a lofty height. On the western height, captain Holmes had established an encampment, in the form of a hollow square, the detachment from Detroit being on the north front of the square, the rangers on the west, and the militia on the south, and all protected by logs, hastily thrown together. The regulars of the 24th and 28th regiments, were stationed on the brow of the height,

uncovered. In this situation, the Americans awaited the attack, and captain Holmes, by the skilful and judicious manner in which he posted himself, compelled his superior enemy to commence it.

Early on the morning of the 4th, the British appearing in few numbers, on the eastern height, immediately opposite to the American camp, gave a loose fire and retired. Some time having elapsed, without their reappearance, captain Holmes despatched lieutenant Knox of the rangers, to reconnoitre them, who performed that duty with alacrity, and returned with an account, that the enemy, whose number he judged to be not more than 70, had retreated, with such precipitation, as to leave his baggage scattered on the road. This retreat was made for the purpose of drawing the Americans from the height, on which the British officer saw they were so advantageously posted. The attempt was attended by a partial success, for the American commander, not being well assured of the strength of his adversary, descended from the camp, and followed him in his retreat. Captain Lee, who commanded the advance in this march, which continued five miles, was fortunate enough to discover the enemy in full force, preparing for a resolute attack. The policy, which had induced the British officer to draw the American from his strong ground, judging of it by its result, was founded in extreme weakness. Having succeeded in seducing him to a distance of five miles, he supposed that captain Holmes, with an inferior detachment, almost worn out with the hardships of a fourteen days' march, and the severity of the weather, would pause and give battle to a body of fresh troops superior in numbers and in discipline. He therefore never attempted to improve the advantage he had gained, by detaching a strong party to cross the ravine, above the road on which the Americans had marched, and to occupy the position which they just abandoned. By this act he would have cut off all communication in the rear, and compelled captain Holmes to disperse his party in the wilderness, or to yield at discretion. In either of these cases, the American detachment would have been destroyed.

Captain Holmes fearing, however, that the enemy had attempted thus to cut him off, immediately retreated to the heights, re-established himself in the encampment,



and a second time compelled the British regulars and Indians to attack him on his own ground.

The rangers and many of the infantry, not knowing the wisdom nor the necessity of the measure, exhibited great marks of discontent at the retreat, and many of them refused to fight the enemy. But, on his re-appearance upon the opposite height, one impulse animated the whole detachment, which resolved on repulsing the assailants.—The British commander then made a disposition to dislodge them, and throwing his militia and Indians across the ravine, above the road, he ordered them to commence the attack upon the north, south, and west sides of the encampment, whilst he charged down the road from the opposite height, crossed the bridge, and rushed furiously up the height occupied by the Americans, on their east, or exposed side, with an intention of charging the regulars. This he did, under a galling fire, which did not check his advances, until within twenty paces of his object. There his front section being shot to pieces, and many of those who followed being wounded; his principal officers cut down, and the fire of the Americans increasing in vivacity; he abandoned the assault altogether, and took shelter in the neighbouring wood, at distances of 15, 20, and 30 paces. Having arrayed his forces, he commenced a rapid fire from his cover, which was warmly returned, and increased on both sides. From those parts of the encampment, protected by the logs, the rangers and militia fired with great coolness and precision. The regulars, on the uncovered side, were directed to kneel, that they might be partially concealed by the brow of the height, and, by these means, were enabled to fire with more deliberation than their assailants.

After one hour's conflict, the British gave up all hopes of dislodging the detachment, and at twilight commenced their retreat. Captain Holmes did not pursue them, because they were still superior in numbers, and might draw him at night into an ambuscade, in a country much better known to them than to him; and, because he had already gained a sufficient triumph in repulsing, and defeating the object of an experienced foe. The American loss amounted to six men killed and wounded. By their own official report, the enemy lost captain Johnson, lieutenant Grame, and 12 men killed, and captain Besded

(Barden,) lieutenant M'Donald, and 49 men wounded, making a total of 67. The whole American force in action was 150 rank and file, many of whom fought and marched in their stocking feet, and though the weather is extremely cold in that climate, in the month of February, they were not permitted, nor did they express a wish to take a shoe, even from the dead. Captain Holmes, soon after, returned with his detachment to the Michigan territory, and received the thanks of the commandant, and the brevet rank of major from his government. He spoke of all his officers in very flattering terms, but particularly of lieutenants Kouns and Henry, and ensign Heard of the 28th, and lieutenants Jackson and Potter of the 24th, because their good fortune placed them in opposition to the main strength of the enemy.

After this event, detachments were frequently sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's country, but for several weeks returned without being able to encounter any of his troops. Those on the American side of Detroit river, remained, therefore, in a state of perfect security; and the commanders of the land and naval forces, employed the time in projecting various plans, by which to establish fortifications on the lake St. Clair; to cut off the communications between Michilimackinac and the Indians; and to secure the inhabitants of the territory from their incursions.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Assemblage of the left division of the army at Black Rock and Buffaloe—Capture of Fort Erie—Americans encamp at Street's Creek—Skirmish with the enemy's rear guard—Affairs of picquets—Battle of Chippewa—British retreat to Ten Mile Creek—American army encamps at Queenstown—Death of general Swift—Movement upon Fort George—General Brown retires to Chippewa Creek—Battle of Niagara.*

To retrieve the disastrous consequences of the last northern campaign; to regain the possession of the posts in Canada, which had been obtained by conquest, and

lost by the inefficacy of the means provided to retain them; to drive the enemy from the occupancy of the American garrison at the mouth of the Niagara; and to command the frontiers on both sides of that stream; various plans had been projected, numerous dispositions made, and measures were finally adopted for their achievement. To this end, general Brown, now elevated to the rank of major general, was ordered to assemble, and organize, a division of the army, at, and in the neighbourhood of Black Rock and Buffalo. This division consisted of two brigades of regulars, the first commanded by brigadier general Scott, formerly of the 2d artillery, and the second by brigadier general Ripley, formerly of the 21st infantry. To these were added a brigade of New York volunteers, and a few Indians, under brigadiers general Porter and Swift. During the months of April, May, and June (1814), the concentration of this force was effected, and the principal part of that time employed in its discipline.

The first step towards the accomplishment of the objects of the present campaign, was the assault and capture of fort Erie, at that time in command of major Buck, and garrisoned by 170 officers and men of the 8th and 100th regiments. On the morning of the 3d of July, therefore, in obedience to general Brown's orders, the two brigades of regulars embarked for that purpose. General Scott, with the first, and a detachment of artillery, under major Hindman, crossed to the Canada shore, about one mile below fort Erie, and general Ripley, with the second, about the same distance above. The landing of the second brigade was attended with much difficulty, in consequence of the impossibility of approaching the shore, with the gun boats, in which it had embarked. The debarkation was, therefore, effected in two small boats, capable of containing at one time, not more than 50 men. The first brigade was on the shore before a gun was fired by the enemy, who had a picquet stationed near the place of landing. From these two points, on the right and left, the fort was rapidly approached by the regulars, whilst a party of Indians, who had been crossed over skirted the wood in its rear. The garrison, entirely unapprised of these movements, was completely surrounded, and general Brown demanded the quiet surrender of the post.



A few guns only were fired, which wounded four men of the 25th regiment, under major Jessup, of the first brigade, when major Buck surrendered the fort to the invading army. Immediate possession was taken of the garrison, and the prisoners were marched to the interior of New York. The passage of the troops across the channel, and the conveyance of the prisoners to the American shore, was superintended by lieutenant commandant Kennedy, of the navy.

Major general Riall, with a division of the British army, constituted of the best disciplined, and more experienced European regulars, was at this time intrenched at Chippewa, and thither it was determined the Americans should proceed, to attack and rout him. Arrangements were, therefore, made for the security of the fort, and the protection of the American rear, by the establishment of a small garrison, under lieutenant M'Donough, of the artillery, and the disposition of the marine force, near, and in front of the fort.

On the morning of the 4th, general Scott received orders to advance with his brigade and Towson's company of artillery, upon Chippewa. In the course of the same day, he was followed by general Ripley, and the field and park artillery, under major Hindman, and by general Porter and his volunteers. On the right bank of Street's creek, two miles distant from the British works, the army was drawn up in three lines, the first brigade facing Street's creek and the bridge—the second brigade, forming the second line, and the volunteers the third. The park of artillery was stationed on the right of the encampment, between the first and second line, and the light troops were posted, within the same space, on the left.

In its approaches from fort Erie, along the Niagara, to this position, the first brigade encountered the advanced corps of the enemy, strongly posted behind this creek. General Scott immediately ordered captain Towson to go forward with his artillery and dislodge them. That gallant officer, in a few minutes, compelled them to fall back, though not until they had intrepidly destroyed the bridge, over which the advancing column would be obliged to pass.

About the time at which captain Towson opened his battery upon the enemy, captain Crooker of the 9th

infantry, had been directed to flank out to the left of the brigade, to cross the stream above the bridge, and to assail the right of the enemy's guard. This movement was made with so much celerity, that captain Crooker reached the enemy's position, and was in full pursuit of him, when the brigade column arrived at the bridge. After retreating a short distance, the British commander being aware of the impossibility of captain Crooker receiving a reinforcement, of sufficient strength to combat the impetuosity of well appointed cavalry, until the bridge should be replaced, ordered his dragoons to turn upon, and cut up the detachment. Under the eye of the general commanding the brigade, and before the pioneers had rendered the bridge passable, captain Crooker was surrounded and charged upon by a numerous troop of the British 19th. This brave detachment, determined to cut through this superior force, fought their way to a house not far from the place of attack, and having gained it, turned, at the order of their commander, upon the pursuing horsemen, and having first struck terror into their ranks, put them to a flight, precipitate as their attack had been impetuous. At this moment, captain Crooker, whose men might well be exhausted after so vigorous an engagement, was relieved from all apprehension of another assault from a fresh body of troops, by the arrival of captains Hull and Harrison, and lieutenant Randolph, with a small party of men who had been hastily thrown across the stream to his support. "In partizan war," the general of brigade observed, "he had witnessed nothing more gallant than the conduct of captain Crooker and his company."

At 11 o'clock in the evening of that day, the encampment was formed in the manner already described; and early on the morning of the 5th, the enemy commenced an attack in various detached parties upon the picquet guards surrounding it. One of these was commanded by captain Treat, of the 21st infantry, and on its return to the camp, through a meadow of high grass, was assailed by a brisk discharge of musketry. One man fell, severely wounded, and the rear of the guard broke and retreated. Captain Treat's attempts to prevent the flight of the left of his detachment, were mistaken for an intention to avoid the enemy; and though he was ordered to a

neighbouring wood, his guard being first collected in pursuit of the party that had attacked him, he was immediately after stripped of his command upon the ground of cowardice, in retreating before the enemy, and of misconduct, in abandoning the wounded man to their mercy. This man had, however, been brought in by captain Treat's orders, previously to his march in quest of the enemy's party. Being resolved on a participation in some way or other in the approaching battle, the captain entered as a volunteer, in the same company which he had just before commanded; and the senior officer of the 21st regiment directed him to lead a platoon into action.— This act was considered as a manifestation of his courage and patriotism, and the court martial before which he was tried, dismissed him with an honourable acquittal.

The vivacity of these assaults upon the picquets gradually diminished until mid-day, after which they were revived with unabating vigour. General Riall, well acquainted with the position of the American forces, and aware of their intention to attack him, determined upon issuing from his intrenchments, and by striking the first blow to intimidate, and probably throw into disorder the whole line of the invading army. With this view, he crossed the Chippewa with every species of his force, threw his right flank, his Indians, and a large detachment of his light troops, into the wood, on the left of the American encampment, and approached, gradually, with his main body upon the left bank of Street's creek. The movement in the wood was discovered early enough to frustrate the designs of the British commander, and general Brown ordered general Porter to advance, with the volunteers and Indians, from the rear of the camp; to conceal himself from the enemy's view, by entering the wood; to drive back his light troops and Indians; and, if possible, to gain the rear of his scouting parties, and place them between his line, and the division of regulars. As general Porter moved from the encampment, the American outposts and advanced parties fell back, under the fire of the enemy, in order to draw him upon the centre of the front line.

General Porter met, attacked, and, after a short but severe contest, drove the enemy's right before him. His route to Chippewa was intercepted by the whole British



column, arrayed in order of battle, and against this powerful force, the volunteers desperately maintained their ground, until they were overpowered by the superiority of discipline and numbers.

As soon as the firing became regular and heavy between the volunteers and the enemy, general Brown rightly conjecturing that all the British regulars were engaged, immediately ordered general Scott's brigade, and Towson's artillery, to advance and draw them into action on the plains of Chippewa. General Scott had no sooner crossed the bridge over Street's creek, than he encountered and gave battle to the enemy. Captain Towson commenced his fire before the infantry battalions were in battle array, and, upon their being formed, took post on the river, with 3 pieces, in front of the extreme right, and thence played upon the British batteries.

The 9th regiment and part of the 22d, forming the 1st battalion under major Leavenworth, took position on the right; the 2d battalion (11th regiment) was led to its station by colonel Campbell, who, being soon wounded, was succeeded in the command of that regiment by major M'Neill. The 3d battalion (25th regiment) was formed by major Jessup, on the left, resting in a wood.—From this position, that officer was ordered to turn the enemy's right wing, then steadily advancing upon the American line. Whilst this order was in execution, and Jessup's battalion engaged in an animated contest, with the British infantry, he detached captain Ketchum, with his company, to attack a superior detachment, at that moment coming up to the reinforcement of the body, against which, the 25th was engaged. Captain Ketchum flanked out, encountered the fresh detachment, and sustained a vigorous and desperate engagement, until the battalion cleared its own front, and marched to the support of his company.

This fortunate consummation of his plan, the major did not effect without a violent struggle. The British gave him an animated and destructive fire; his men were falling around him in numbers too great to leave him any hopes of victory; and he became, at length, closely pressed, both in flank and front. His regiment, nevertheless, betrayed not the least disposition to falter, and promptly obeyed his order to "*support arms and ad-*

vance" under this tremendous fire, until a position of more security was gained. From this, he returned the enemy's fire, with such order and rapidity, that the British right flank fell back, and the battalion was enabled to come up in time to co-operate with captain Ketchum's detachment.

The whole line of the enemy began about this time to recoil. On the American right, the battalion of major Leavenworth, was not only engaged with the British infantry, but frequently exposed to the fire of the batteries. One of his officers, captain Harrison, had his leg carried off by a cannon ball, but so doubtful, at that moment, did he consider the issue of the battle, that he would not suffer a man to be taken from his duty, to bear him from the field, and supported the torture of his wound with extreme fortitude, until the action ceased.

Major M'Neill's battalion was also engaged, from the commencement until the close of the action, and, together with major Leavenworth's, received the enemy on the open plain; of these, the 9th and 22d, were parallel to the attack, but the 11th, had its left thrown forward, so as to assail in front and flank, at the same time. Thus posted, majors Leavenworth and M'Neill resisted the attacks of the enemy, with great gallantry and zeal. On this end of the line, the fire was quite as incessant as on the left, and its effect not less destructive; but the troops displayed an equal degree of animation.

After the lapse of an hour, from the commencement of the battle, captain Towson, who had maintained his position on the river, notwithstanding one of his pieces had been thrown out of action, having completely silenced the enemy's most powerful battery, turned his remaining pieces on the infantry, at that moment advancing to a charge. This accumulation of fire; the effective discharges of M'Neill's musketry, peculiarly destructive from the oblique position; the steadiness of the two battalions; and the apparent issue of the engagement between Jessup's and the British right wing, compelled gen. Riall to retire, until he reached a sloping ground, descending to Chippewa. From the point formed by this ground, his troops fled in confusion to their intrenchments, behind the creek, and having regained their works, retarded the approaches of the conquerors by means of their heavy

batteries, on which alone, they relied for safety, in the event of their being obliged to retire.

About the time they commenced their charge, major Hindman had ordered forward captain Ritchie's company of artillery, and one piece, a 12-pounder, under lieutenant Hall. They arrived, in time only to participate in the close of the action, but joined captain Towson, in pursuing the enemy, under the fire of his batteries, until he threw himself into the intrenchments.

Whilst the first brigade was thus gallantly engaged with this superior force, in which were included the 100th regiment, under lieutenant colonel the marquis of Tweeddale, and the Royal Scots, under lieutenant colonel Gordon, general Ripley, whose brigade was already formed in line of battle, proposed to the commanding general, to pass the left of the first brigade; to turn the enemy's right; and by taking a position in his rear, prevent his retreat to the Chippewa. But, as the volunteers were at that moment falling back from the wood, on the left of the field, general Brown was of opinion that an attack would be made in that quarter, and deemed the presence of general Ripley's brigade, necessary to receive and repel it. At the moment of their retreat, however, he determined to follow up the victory, by advancing against their works with all his ordnance, and directed general Ripley to adopt the proposition he had made. But such was the precipitation of the retreat, that this movement became unavailing, and on the report of two reconnoitring officers, major Wood of the engineers, and captain Austin, an aid to the general, as to the situation and security of the enemy's works, general Brown was induced to order all his troops back to their encampment.

This sanguinary battle, resulted, as may well be supposed, in an immense loss on both sides. That of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 328; sixty of whom were killed. Among the wounded, were colonel Campbell; captains King, of the 22d, Read, of the 25th, and Harrison, of the 42d, but doing duty with the 9th, lieutenants Palmer and Brimhall, of the 9th, Barron, of the 11th, and De Witt and Patchim, of the 25th. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was, according to general Brown's report, 308; but, by lieutenant general Drummond's returns,



there were 139 killed, 320 wounded, and 46 missing, making a total of 505 ; so that the number of the wounded British, was nearly equal to the aggregate loss of the Americans. Among these were the marquis of Tweeddale, lieutenant colonel Gordon, lieutenant colonel Dickson, captain Holland, aid de camp to general Riall, 7 captains, 17 lieutenants, and 4 other subalterns.

The liveliest testimonies of the applause of the people, and the honourable approbation of the government, were given to generals Scott and Porter. The brevet rank of lieutenant colonel, was conferred upon majors Jessup, Leavenworth, and M'Neill; and of major, upon captains Towson, Crooker, and Harrison. But there were other gallant and distinguished officers, who shared in the perils, and the fortunes, of that day. Among the most conspicuous of these, were lieutenants Worth and Watts, aids to general Scott; lieutenant Smith, his major of brigade; major Wood of the engineers, who superintended the construction of the works at fort Meigs, during the memorable siege of that garrison; captain Harris, of the dragoons; and lieutenant M'Donald, of the second brigade, who penetrated a wood and annoyed the enemy's Indians.

Intelligence having been communicated to lieutenant general Drummond, of the defeat of major general Riall, that officer, was immediately reinforced at Chippewa, by the 8th or King's regiment from York; on the arrival of which, he disposed his troops in such order as to repulse an assault from the Americans. General Brown, meanwhile, remained at his encampment at Street's creek, and on the 8th of the month, determined upon an attempt to dislodge general Riall. General Ripley, was for this purpose, ordered to proceed with his brigade, to a point three miles above the British works, on the Chippewa, to open a road of communication between Street's creek and that point; and, to construct a bridge over the Chippewa, for the passage of the troops. This order was executed with great secrecy; and without loss of time, and the artillery was brought up in the course of the day, to cover the pioneers, whilst constructing the bridge.—The enemy had no knowledge of this movement, until the brigade arrived at the creek, and the artillery was already planted near its margin. General Riall was then

informed, by his out-post, of these operations, and hastily forwarded a detachment of the royal artillery, to check them. A cannonade ensued; but such was the effect produced by general Ripley's artillery, that the British pieces were withdrawn; the bridge was soon after completed, and general Riall, apprehending an attack on his right flank and in front, from the formidable arrangements which he saw in preparation, abandoned his line of defences, and retreated by the road to Queenstown. General Brown occupied the enemy's works that evening, and on the following morning (the 9th), pursued the route to Queenstown. Riall had, however, retired to the Ten Mile Creek.

At Queenstown the American army was then encamped, and the commanding general held a council of war, for the purpose of maturing a plan of future and decisive operations. On the 12th, brigadier general John Swift, second in command to general Porter, and the same who had put the British marines to flight at Poultneyville, having offered to reconnoitre the enemy's position at fort George, was detached with 120 volunteers, to obtain a view of those works. On his arrival within its neighbourhood, he surprised and captured an out-post, consisting of a corporal and five men; one of these, after having surrendered to the detachment and requested quarters, availed himself of an advantageous moment, treacherously fired at, and shot the general, who, notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, and the severity of his wound, instantly levelled his piece, and killed the assassin. The alarm produced by this fire, brought up a British patrolling party, of 60 men, against whom general Swift, regardless of the persuasions of his officers, to attend to his wound, marched at the head of his detachment, and commenced an attack, which resulted in the retreat of the enemy's party. The general, however, whose wound was mortal, fell, exhausted by the loss of blood, before the termination of the skirmish. His next officer, beat the patrolling party into the fort, and returned to the encampment at Queenstown, with the body of his expiring commander. General Swift, whose loss was sincerely deplored by the whole army, and who had served with distinguished reputation during the war of the revolution, was interred with the usual ceremonies, and honours of

a soldier. The whole volunteer brigade, to which the general was attached, solicited an opportunity to avenge the fall of their brave officer; and an opportunity was not long wanted.

At the consultation, which was held by general Brown, and his principal officers, a plan of attack upon fort George, was proposed; and, to the prejudice of a proposition, submitted by general Ripley, of following up general Riall; of driving him from the peninsula; or of striking as severe a blow, as that which he had received at Chippewa, and thus totally to annihilate his force; was adopted by a majority of the council. In order to ascertain the possibility of capturing that fort, by a *coup de main*, the second brigade, and the volunteers, were directed to reconnoitre it, in the most secret manner. Whilst general Ripley approached along the Niagara, general Porter, to whose brigade was attached two field pieces, under captain Ritchie, of the regular artillery, advanced by the way of St. David's and the Cross Roads, to lake Ontario, whence he could obtain a full view of fort Niagara, and enable the principal engineer, major Wood, to examine the works on that side of fort George. After viewing the northern face of fort Niagara, general Porter moved in, upon fort George, drove in all the enemy's picquets, and formed his brigade in the open plain, within a mile of the fort. To enable the engineer to examine the works with more certainty, he ordered lieutenant colonel Wilcocks to advance with his command, under cover of a small wood, within musket shot of the garrison. These positions were maintained upwards of an hour and a half, during which time the British batteries opened upon the troops on the plain. Several detached parties, sent out to attack the volunteer light troops, were successively repulsed, and the object of the expedition being accomplished, general Porter moved round the south side of the fort, and joined general Ripley's brigade on the Niagara. As he retired, the enemy sent out several pieces of field artillery, and commenced a rapid fire upon his rear. The brigade, however, moved off, in good order, with two men wounded; and lieutenant Fontaine, of the artillery, and an officer of the volunteers, had their horses killed under them, by a cannon ball. In his approaches to the lake, general Porter deemed it necessary to station *videttes* upon the several



roads leading to the fort. Five of these were captured by a party of 20 Canadian militia, residing in the neighbourhood, and some of whom had been in the American encampment, professing to avail themselves of the terms of general Brown's proclamation, issued upon entering Canada, "that all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and pursuing their private business, should be treated as friends."

To give more certainty and effect to the assault of forts George and Niagara, and to the occupation of Queenstown, St. David's, and Newark, general Brown, previously to his passage of the Niagara strait, had adopted measures, in conjunction with commodore Chauncey, for the co-operation of the American squadron. On the 20th of July, he, therefore, moved with his whole force upon fort George, and took a position, with a portion of his troops, on lake Ontario, as well with a view to attempt that garrison, as to obtain some intelligence of the fleet. Commodore's Chauncey's extreme illness, prevented the sailing of the fleet from the harbour, and general Brown, apprehensive of an attack upon the rear of his army, and of his communication with the encampment being cut off, by the militia then raising *en masse*, fell back to Queenstown, on the 22d, to protect his baggage. Having there received intelligence of the detention of the fleet, he determined to disencumber the army of its heavy baggage, and to march against Burlington Heights, on the peninsula, between which and Erie the enemy had in the meantime, concentrated his principal forces. To draw from Schlosser, a supply of provisions, necessary to this expedition, he retired on the 24th, to the junction of the Chippewa and Niagara: with the exception of the 9th regiment, the army encamped on the right bank of the Chippewa. That regiment was posted on the north side of the stream, in and near a block house, in the advance.

Lieutenant general Drummond, anxious to redeem the tarnished reputation of the British arms, and having now augmented his force, so as to feel capable of offering battle, without any doubt of its successful result, forwarded a division, under general Riall, to Queenstown, who occupied the heights there, immediately after their abandonment by the Americans. From Queenstown, general Riall threw a large detachment of his troops, across the

Niagara, to Lewistown, with a view to the capture of the American sick and wounded, at that time in the hospital at Schlosser, and the destruction of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions, deposited at that place. By expresses from colonel Swift, commanding at Lewistown, general Brown was informed of this movement, and almost at the same moment, a picquet, stationed beyond the 9th regiment, reported an advanced party of the enemy on the Niagara road. To draw him from his purposed pillage of Schlosser, general Brown, having no immediate means of bringing off his sick and stores, nor of transporting troops to their defence, ordered general Scott to move, with his brigade, then consisting of about 700 men, and Towson's artillery, still attached to it, in the direction of Queenstown.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th (July), the first brigade moved from the encampment in light marching order, the 9th regiment being in front of the column, and captain Harris, with a troop of regular and volunteer dragoons, and a company of infantry, under captain Pentland, of the 22d, constituting an advanced corps. About two miles and a half from the Chippewa, and within a short distance of the falls of Niagara, the American and British advanced parties came within view of each other, and general Scott halted his column, to reconnoitre the ground, and make arrangements for the reception, or attack, of the enemy. Lieutenant colonel Leavenworth, with the 9th, consisting then of only 150 men, was immediately ordered to take the left of the road, within supporting distance of the column, which, on the execution of this order, again moved forward, the enemy retiring before it. On an eminence, near Lundy's lane, at a point, chosen by major general Riall, because of the decided advantage of the ground, the enemy was posted in great strength, with a formidable battery of nine pieces of artillery, two of which were brass 24 pounders, and an extensive and heavy line of infantry. This position was extremely favourable to the operations of the battery, and there the British general had long wished to engage the troops, who had compelled him to retire from every other, at which battle had been previously given them.

On the arrival of general Scott's column at a narrow strip of woods, by which only the British line was ob-

scured from his view, captains Harris and Pentland, were first fired on, and gallantly engaged the enemy's advance, which had gradually retreated, to draw the American column to the situation at Lundy's lane. The brigade column was again immediately halted, lieutenant colonel Leavenworth ordered to his situation, and lieutenant colonel Jessup, with the 25th, detached to attack the left of the British line. The 9th, 11th, and 22d, passed the advanced corps, and moving to the north of the wood, entered a smooth field, in full view of the enemy, and within canister distance of his battery. The rear of the column having cleared the wood, general Scott ordered the line to be instantly formed. This order was not executed before the British opened a tremendous fire from their battery, and the whole line of their infantry drawn up on its right, and obliquely in its front. Towson, with his artillery, was stationed on the right of the 9th, and though they could not be brought to bear upon the eminence, he animated the American line, by an incessant discharge from all his pieces.

Thus drawn up on both sides, the action continued, with unceasing animation, upwards of an hour, against a force, then almost thrice superior to the American brigade. In the course of that time, the 11th and 22d regiments, having expended their ammunition, colonel Brady and lieutenant colonel McNeill, being both severely wounded, and all the captains of the former, and most of the officers of the latter, either killed or wounded, both regiments were withdrawn from action, and many of the officers, but principally subalterns, attached themselves to the 9th, and fought under its gallant chief, in various capacities, and with unusual courage and perseverance. Among these were lieutenant Crawford, and lieutenant and adjutant Sawyer. Against the chief part of the British line, lieutenant colonel Leavenworth, with the remains of the 9th alone, continued the engagement with unshaken firmness and bravery; and was, at length, directed to advance and charge upon the height, and with the 11th and 22d, to break the enemy's line. Notwithstanding these three regiments were greatly diminished by the excessive loss of officers and men, they nevertheless steadily advanced, with supported arms, until general Scott, learning the shattered condition of the 11th and 22d, countermanded the order.



The enemy was at this moment pressing upon the left of the line; the right of the 9th, was therefore thrown forward to meet and repulse him, and the whole regiment, commenced a fire more animating, if possible, but certainly more destructive than the first. It is scarcely possible to do justice to the conduct of this gallant regiment, or of its intrepid commander. It had already given such signal instances of individual valour, as were never surpassed upon an open field. But valour alone, is not competent to resist the repeated assaults, of a numerous and increasing foe; and against a prodigious inequality of numbers, it is sometimes little less than madness to contend. The 9th regiment, was at length reduced to nearly half the number with which it had entered the field, and being still pressed by the enemy, who frequently charged with a fresh line, lieutenant colonel Leavenworth despatched an officer to general Scott, to communicate its condition. The general having been just informed of the approach of reinforcements from Chippewa, rode immediately to the position of that regiment, and directed it to maintain its ground.

That indefatigable and excellent reconnoitring officer, lieutenant Riddle, of the 15th infantry, had been sent out in the morning, with a party of 100 men, to scour the surrounding country. He had not proceeded more than three miles from the encampment, when, in attempting to gain the rear of a scout of the enemy, he was informed by several of the inhabitants, of his being close upon a division of 3000 of the British troops. At the time of his leaving the camp, general Brown had not been apprised of the contiguity of the enemy, and lieutenant Riddle, therefore, hastened back with all possible speed, to communicate the intelligence. The nature of the ground, over which he had to retrace his steps, and the extreme caution with which it was necessary to proceed, to avoid reconnoitring detachments of the enemy, lengthened his distance, from the head quarters, upwards of five miles. He had not arrived at the position of the Americans at Chippewa, when he was apprised of the meeting of the hostile armies, by the repeated and heavy discharges of artillery. Naturally concluding that general Brown's whole force had proceeded to the field of battle, and not hesitating a moment, as to the course he should pursue,

he wheeled his detachment upon the Niagara road, and immediately marched to a participation in the engagement. This detachment was the first reinforcing party which arrived to the relief of the first brigade, and general Scott stationed it on his extreme left, with directions to lieutenant Riddle, to watch the motions of the British riflemen and Indians.

By the same circumstance, the report of the artillery, general Brown was also first informed of the commencement of the action, and of its scene, and having directed general Ripley to follow with the 2d brigade, was already on his way to the falls, when he met the assistant adjutant general, major Jones, returning to the encampment at full speed for reinforcements. The intelligence communicated by major Jones, induced the commander in chief to despatch him, to order up general Porter's volunteers, in addition to the 2d brigade, and the park of artillery. General Brown then rode hastily, with his aids, accompanied by major M'Ree, of the engineers, towards the field of battle, and on his further advance, was met by a second messenger, major Wood, also of the engineers, and who had marched with general Scott's brigade. From this gallant and accomplished officer, he received a report of the close and sanguinary character of the action, and directed him to return with him to the field.

Exhausted and reduced as the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments already were, another vigorous onset from the enemy, sufficiently numerous to interpose occasionally a fresh line, might probably decide the fate of the day, before the arrival of the approaching reinforcements. The determined and obstinate manner, however, in which they had already received, and repulsed, the gallant and repeated charges of the British infantry, induced major general Riall to overrate their force. But, to whatever measure of strength these intrepid regiments amounted, he knew also, that the number of his combatants would be augmented from the camp at Chippewa, and being assured of the necessity, in that event, of enlarging his own force, he despatched messengers to lieutenant general Drummond, at fort George, to inform him of the desperate nature of the conflict.—Until this period of the engagement, his force, including the incorporated militia and some Indians, amounted to

1637 men, being more than double the strength by which he was opposed.

Major general Brown arrived at the scene of this obstinate struggle, about the time at which general Scott ordered the 9th regiment to maintain its ground, and seeing the exhausted state of the troops, and the shattered condition of the brigade, determined on holding it in reserve, whilst the reinforcing troops should continue the engagement. The 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, were therefore consolidated into one battalion, under colonel Brady, who, though wounded, refused to quit the field, until the result of the engagement should be known. General Ripley's brigade, major Hindman's artillery, and general Porter's volunteers, all of whom had marched with unusual rapidity, over a difficult road, were now within a short distance of Lundy's lane. General Ripley being in the advance, and within half a mile of the field, immediately despatched his aid de camp, lieutenant M'Donald, of the 19th infantry, to inform general Brown of his approach, and to receive instructions as to the situation of the enemy, and orders, as to the disposition of his brigade.

Immediately before the arrival of general Ripley, a temporary pause prevailed between the two armies; an awful and (but for the groans of the wounded soldiers,) an unbroken silence was preserved among the troops on either side; the impetuous descent of the stupendous cataract of the Niagara, alone interrupted the pervading stillness, and contributed to the solemnity and grandeur of the scene: and the leaders of both forces, having fallen back to their original positions, seemed mutually disposed to a momentary cessation of the sanguinary and fatiguing strife. The arrival of these reinforcements, under general Ripley, and of others, under lieutenant general Drummond, put an end to this suspension of hostilities, and the engagement was renewed with augmented vigour.

Major Hindman's artillery being brought up, the companies of captains Biddle and Ritchie, in addition to Towson's detachment, soon came into action, and general Porter's volunteers were displayed upon the left of general Scott's brigade. Lieutenant M'Donald, who had been despatched for orders, having met captain Spencer, one of the aids of the commander in chief, bearing orders for



the 2d brigade to form on the skirts of the wood to the right of the 1st, immediately returned to general Ripley with these directions.

Meanwhile, the 25th regiment under lieutenant colonel Jessup, which had been ordered, in the early part of the action to take post on the right, had gallantly contended against, and succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank. Lieutenant colonel Jessup, availing himself of the extreme darkness of the night, and of the incaution of the British general in not placing a proper guard across a road upon his left, threw his regiment in the rear of the enemy's reserve, and surprising one detachment after another, made prisoners of so many of their officers and men, that the operations of his fire arms were constantly impeded. General Drummond, who was now commanding in person the front line of the enemy, having determined on concentrating his whole force, and leading it to the attack of gen. Scott's brigade in front and on each flank, and despatched his aid de camp, captain Loring, to bring up general Riall with the reserve. It was the good fortune, however, of captain Ketchum, of this regiment, whose eminent services greatly contributed to the victorious issue of the battle at Chippewa, to make prisoners of major general Riall, who was wounded in the arm, and the aid of lieutenant general Drummond before the reserve was put in motion.

Had this concentration of general Riall's line with that of general Drummond been effected, the reduced brigade, composed now, only of the consolidated battalion, could not at this moment, and without the support of the 2d brigade, have withstood the assault of so overwhelming a force; and the movement of lieutenant colonel Jessup, therefore unquestionably saved that battalion. Having hastily adopted proper arrangements for the disposal of his prisoners, lieutenant colonel Jessup felt his way to the spot, where the warmest fire was kept up upon the brigade to which he belonged. Eastwardly of Lundy's lane, and on the south of the Queenstown road, he drew up his regiment behind a fence, from which he could effectually annoy the enemy. A party of the British infantry were, at that time, drawn up in front of a fence, on the opposite side of the same road. Lieutenant colonel Jessup's approach to his present position, had been made

with so much secrecy, that they did not know he was there, until they received a deadly and destructive fire, which compelled them to break and fly along the Queens-town road. By the blaze of this fire, lieutenant colonel Jessup was discovered to major-general Brown, who rode up, applauded his conduct, and directed him to move by Lundy's lane, and form upon the right of the 2d brigade.

The operations of that brigade were all this time carried on with the utmost brilliancy and success. When his aid de camp communicated the order of the commander in chief, general Ripley saw the impracticability of operating upon the enemy, from the position at which he was directed to display his column; or of advancing from it, in line, upon an emergency, through a close wood. At the same moment too, general Drummond's infantry and all his artillery, had commenced a galling fire upon general Scott's brigade, which could only be supported by a direct movement of the 2d brigade upon the centre of the enemy's line. The impenetrable darkness of the night, rendered it difficult for the generals of brigade, at all times, to find the commander in chief, or each other, and general Ripley, therefore, determined to assume a responsibility, by adopting in time, the only movement which could save the 1st brigade from inevitable destruction, and ultimately achieve the victory.

He therefore proposed to colonel Miller, the same who had distinguished himself in the earliest stage of the war, at Maguaga, and who now commanded the 21st, or Ripley's old regiment, to storm the enemy's battery with that, whilst he would support him by leading up the 23d, a younger and less experienced regiment, to a charge upon the British flank. Colonel Miller, well knowing the perilous nature of this desperate duty, replied to his general, "*I'll try, sir*,"\* and immediately put his regiment in readiness by forming it in line, on the left of the road, directly in front of his object. The 23d was, at the same time, formed in close column, by its commander, major M'Farland, and the first which had arrived that day under lieutenant colonel Nicholas, from a long and

\* Words afterwards worn on the buttons of the 21st regiment

fatiguing march, was directed to menace the enemy's infantry. Whilst these dispositions were making, general Ripley despatched his aid to apprise general Brown of the impossibility of forming on the skirt of the wood, and of the measures which he had, in consequence, adopted. The commander in chief highly commended the design of the brigadier general, and instantly authorised its execution. With hearts panting for the accomplishment of this enterprise, these regiments moved forward, under a rapid and destructive fire directed against them, at their very onset, by the enemy's whole line of musketry, and every piece of his cannon. The 21st, nevertheless, promptly pressed forward; the 23d faltered. It was, however, instantly rallied by the personal exertions of general Ripley, who led it up to the contemplated charge. At a distance of little more than 100 yards from the top of the eminence, on which the British cannon were posted, and which these regiments were necessarily obliged to ascend, they received another, and equally as severe a discharge from the musketry and heavy pieces. The 21st was now, however, too much enamoured of its object, and the 23d too obstinately determined on retrieving its fame, to betray the smallest disposition, to recoil from the near consummation of their bold and hazardous enterprise. By this fire major M'Farland, of the 23d, was killed, and the command of that regiment devolved upon major Brooke, an officer of no less intrepidity and valour. The description of a more brilliant, and decisive movement, may never have been registered on the page of history. To the amazement of the whole British line, colonel Miller, steadily and silently advancing up the eminence, until within a few paces of the enemy's cannon impetuously charged upon the artillerists, and after a short but desperate contest, carried the whole battery, and instantly formed his line in its rear, upon the same ground on which the British infantry had been previously posted. In carrying the heaviest pieces, the 21st regiment experienced severe losses, several officers of distinguished bravery and merit, being either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cilley, who commanded an advanced company of that regiment, by a resolute and unexampled effort, carried one of the guns, and fell wounded by its side immediately after. He had advanced upon



it with such rapidity, as to bayonet the men stationed at it before they had time to escape, and cut down with his own hand, an artillerist, who was applying a match to the piece. In the same charge, lieutenant Bigelow was killed, and captain Burbank, and ensigns Jones and Thomas, and lieutenant Fisk of the 19th, and ensign Camp of the second rifle, both attached to the 21st, were wounded.

The advance of the 23d, upon the British infantry supporting the cannon, being as prompt as that of the 21st, both regiments pierced the enemy's line at the same instant. Major Brooke, in obedience to the order of general Ripley, led his battalion, under the eye of his commander, into the very ranks of the enemy, and putting them to a hasty and disorderly retreat, marched up to the relief of colonel Miller, who, though he had formed his line in the rear of the captured battery, had not yet driven the enemy below the eminence, and was at this moment closely pressed, almost at its summit. By the junction of these two regiments, however, and the bringing into line of the first, the fate of this assault was determined, the British infantry and artillerists retired beyond the reach of musketry, and their own cannon were turned against them.

The features of the action now began to assume a new character. The heights from which the enemy had been thus gallantly dislodged, being a very commanding position, the maintenance of them, would alone determine the issue of the conflict, and general Ripley immediately formed his line for the protection of the newly acquired battery, and prepared to receive the assaults which he rightly conjectured would be made for its recovery.—When the capture of general Riall was announced, before the dislodgment of the British from the eminence, the elation of the first brigade was manifested by three loud huzzas, which brought a shell from the enemy that fell in major Hindman's corps, and exploded a *casson* of ammunition, belonging to the company of the brave and lamented captain Ritchie, who, being mortally wounded in the course of the engagement, fell into the hands of the British. Major Hindman was now directed to bring up his corps, including Towson's detachment, and post himself, with his own and the captured cannon, on the

right of general Ripley's brigade, and between it and the 25th; on the left of the second brigade, general Porter's volunteers were then ranged.

The line being thus formed, at the expiration of a short interval, lieutenant general Drummond, incensed beyond measure at the capture of his artillery, resolved on regaining it, and being strongly reinforced, advanced upon general Ripley, with a heavy and extended line, outflanking him on both extremes. In anticipation of his approach, which could only be discovered by the sound attending it, general Ripley had directed his troops, to reserve their fire, until they had received that of the assailants, and, if necessary, to feel the bayonets, before they should discharge their pieces, with the double view of drawing the advancing line within close striking distance, and of making his own fire more deadly and effective, by giving it a direction by the flashes of the enemy's musketry.

On the other hand, lieutenant general Drummond, thus resolutely determined on the recovery of his cannon, gave a peremptory order to all his platoon officers, to advance steadily, and without any regard to the fire of the American line; and, after attaining a given distance, to make a prompt and vigorous charge, and, if possible, to fall directly upon the cannon. His whole division, therefore, marched at a quick step, until it came within 20 paces of the summit of the height, when the several regiments received orders to pour in a rapid fire, upon the American line, and to follow it with the immediate appeal to the bayonet. This fire was no sooner delivered, than the second brigade, the volunteers, and lieutenant colonel Jessup's regiment, instantaneously returned it, and threw the enemy's line into a momentary confusion. But, being immediately rallied, it returned to a conflict more tremendous, than any which had been witnessed in the day's battle. Upwards of twenty minutes, one blaze of fire succeeded another, in each line; sections, companies, and regiments, mutually fell back, and were successively rallied, and again brought into action; but, at length, the British line was forced back, and the doubtful contest terminated in their retiring to the lower extremity of the hill.

It was not to be supposed, however, that the enemy, the greatest proportion of whose troops had been accustomed to desperate feats of valour, and had encountered the most experienced battalions of European armies, had yet consented to yield, to an army but lately made up of the rawest materials, what in that event would be considered the trophies of a victory. Measures were, accordingly, instantly adopted by general Ripley, to remove his wounded, and restore his line to proper order.

Whilst this splendid repulse was given to the assault of the enemy, general Scott's consolidated battalion, which had been until this time, held in reserve, was drawn up in the rear of the second brigade, under lieutenant colonel Leavenworth, colonel Brady's wounds having rendered him unfit for active duty. General Scott's brigade major, lieutenant Smith, and his aid, captain Worth, being, at this time, both severely wounded, he selected an aid from the 9th regiment, and forming the battalion into column, marched it across the field, and displayed it on a narrow lane, parallel with, and to the south of Lundy's lane. From this position he despatched lieutenant colonel Leavenworth to seek the commander in chief, and to receive his orders as to the disposition of the battalion. General Brown being conducted to its position by the colonel, a short conversation followed between the two generals, the result of which was the immediate movement of general Scott's command into Lundy's lane, where it was to be formed with its right towards the Niagara road, and its left in the rear of the captured battery.

Having given a new arrangement to his troops, general Drummond, after a lapse of half an hour, was discovered to be advancing to a second charge. He was received with undiminished firmness, and general Ripley's order to retain the fire being repeated, the whole British line discharged its musketry, from the same point at which it had previously paused. The light which was thence emitted, enabled the Americans to fire with the utmost precision, and to check the enemy's nearer advance. The repeated discharges of major Hindman's artillery, which was served with uncommon skill and regularity, were severely felt by the advancing line, and the officers attached to it behaved with coolness and gal-



lantry. The situation on the top of the eminence, gave many and decided advantages to general Ripley's command; scarcely a shot was fired, which failed of hitting its object, whilst the fire of the British, being more elevated, generally went over the heads of the Americans. General Ripley, being of a tall stature, and mounted within eight paces of the rear of his line, was by this circumstance constantly exposed to the enemy's balls. His horse was wounded under him, and his hat twice perforated in the course of the second attack. After the first discharge, in this effort to regain his battery, the British general, determining to break the centre of the American line, composed of the 21st regiment, and detachments of the 17th and 19th, levelled his fire at that point. With the exception of a few platoons, the 21st, however, remained unshaken. These being immediately rallied by general Ripley, the contest continued with great vivacity, until the enemy, finding he could not make another impression on the American, and feeling his own line recoiling, again fell back to the bottom of the eminence.

Immediately after the commencement of this second contest, the remains of the first brigade were also brought into action. At the time of the second discharge, the two lines being nearly parallel, and enveloped in a blaze of fire, general Scott, who had approached the top of the eminence, to ascertain their situation, now rode hastily back to his brigade, demanded, in an animated voice, of colonel Leavenworth, "*are these troops prepared for the charge?*" and, without waiting for a reply, ordered them into close column, their left in front, and to move forward and charge. This order being executed almost as soon as it was given, the general led up the column, and passing between the pieces of artillery, advanced upon the enemy's left.

The gallantry of general Scott's troops, however, could not prevail against a double line of infantry, by which the British flank was supported, and this charge being met with unexpected firmness, the consolidated battalion fell back, and passed to the extreme left of general Porter's volunteers, who were all this time warmly engaged with the enemy. Lieutenant colonel Leavenworth was then ordered to re-form the column, and to change its front, which being done, general Scott led it to a second charge,

and made a resolute attempt to turn the enemy's right. This flank being also protected by a double line, the attempt was not more successful than the former; and the battalion again falling back, was ordered to form on the left of the line, whilst the general passed to the right and joining lieutenant colonel Jessup's regiment, had his shoulder fractured by a musket ball, and almost at the same instant, received a severe wound in the side, which compelled him to leave the field; not, however, without having first returned to lieutenant colonel Leavenworth, whom he ordered to move to the right of the line, and consolidate his battalion with the 25th regiment, the commander of which was also severely wounded. General Scott had hitherto escaped the fire of the enemy with singular good fortune; he had been constantly, and probably too often, in the most exposed situations; he led his troops in person to the separate charges, and never shrunk from any part of the engagement, however desperate or dangerous. He was now conveyed to the encampment at Chippewa, whence he was soon after removed to the American side of the Niagara.

Having thus failed in two vigorous and determined efforts for the recovery of his pieces, the British general began to despair of any better success from a third; but the fortunate arrival of another reinforcing party from fort George, now protected by four of the British fleet, reanimating his troops, he put them in readiness for another charge, by forming a fresh line with the new detachment. Upwards of half an hour having elapsed since his second repulse, it was considered very doubtful by the Americans, whether their ability to maintain their ground would be put to another trial. Excessively fatigued by the violence of the last struggle, their canteens being exhausted, and no water (an article now almost as indispensable as ammunition,) at hand to replenish them, it would be wondered at, if they had either courted or desired a renewal of the contest. But they were determined to lose no part of the reputation, which they had that night acquired, and if the cannon were again to be defended, they would be defended with equal vigour and animation. Their doubts were very soon removed, by the approach, in a more extended line, of the whole body of the British troops, who, independently of their

reinforcements, had the advantage of being amply refreshed, from the plentiful resources at Queenstown and St. David's.

The advance of the enemy was no sooner made known to general Ripley's line, than the ardour of all his men instantly revived, and remembering the order of their gallant commander, to reserve their fire, they prepared to receive that of the approaching line.

The British delivered their fire nearly within the same distance as before, but they did not fall back from the fire of the Americans with the same precipitation.—Their fresh line steadily advanced, and repeated its discharge; the Americans remained firm, and returned it; and an obstinate and tremendous conflict followed. The 21st again manifested its determined character, and under the direction of colonel Miller, dealt out a destructive fire upon its assailants. The right and left repeatedly fell back, but were as often rallied, and brought into the line, to preserve which, the exertions of the general, and colonels Miller, Nicholas, and Jessup, and all the other officers, were constantly required. On the other hand, the fresh troops of the British, were as unshaken as their antagonist, the 21st; but the regiments and sections, which had been before repulsed, recoiled again, and were repeatedly urged forward by their officers. At length, the two lines were on the very summit of the hill, each at the point of the bayonets of the other, and both appealing to that weapon, with unusual force and rapidity. Such was the obstinacy of the contending parties, that many battalions on both sides were forced back, by the vigour of the combat, and the British and American lines became mingled with each other. At that part of the height, on which the cannon were stationed, the battle was most desperate. The enemy having forced himself into the very midst of major Hindman's artillery, two pieces of which the officers of that corps were compelled to spike, he was warmly engaged across the carriages and guns; and the slaughter which took place upon the eminence, sufficiently evinced his determination to recapture, and the resolution of the American artillerists to retain, the trophies which the gallantry of the infantry had won.

The close and personal contests now prevailing from one end of the line to the other, produced a degree of



confusion, which the coolness and energy of the general could scarcely suppress. The broken sections were at length, however, restored to the line, and, having regained their several positions, compelled the enemy's right and left wings to fall back. The centre of his line imitating the example of the flanks, also gave way, and the assault upon the artillery, after a dreadful conflict, being at this moment repulsed, the whole British line fled precipitately a third time. The personal and most active exertions of their principal officers, could not retard the flight of the troops, and they retreated beyond the reach either of musketry or cannon. General Drummond, seeing that the repulse of this last and most determined effort, had wearied and depressed his line, and feeling assured that it would be difficult to lead them on to another attempt, which, too, in all probability, would be followed by a more disastrous discomfiture, consented to relinquish his cannon, and retired beyond the borders of the field, over which were strewn the dead and wounded of both armies.

At the commencement of the last charge, major general Brown, while attending to the formation of lieutenant colonel Leavenworth's battalion, was severely wounded by a musket ball in the right thigh. A little while after, he received a second wound on the left side, and being compelled to quit the field, retired also to the Chippewa, and devolved the command on general Ripley. Though the British had been forced to withdraw from the action, that officer, not knowing whether they had yet yielded the victory, or whether they contemplated the adoption of measures, by which still to retrieve the honour of their arms, re-formed his line, and held it in readiness to receive an attack, in whatever manner it should be made. Convinced of the necessity of the removal of the captured cannon, and of the immense loss which would thence be prevented, general Ripley had frequently despatched his aid to general Brown, for the means of transporting them from the field. No means, were, however, at hand, most of the horses being already killed, and the remainder necessary to draw off the American pieces. General Ripley, therefore, at the close of the engagement, ordered general Porter to detach a party of his volunteers to assist in their removal.—But, the British guns being unlimbered, and in a dismantled condition, it was found to

be impracticable to draw them away, but by means of drag-ropes, none of which were at that time on the ground. Reluctant as were all the troops of the line to abandon the trophies, which had been gained by the resistless valour of the 2d brigade, to difficulties, now found to be insurmountable, they were obliged to yield.

It was at this moment, while in conversation with lieutenant colonel Leavenworth, whose battalion was then condensed with the 25th regiment, and commanded by lieutenant colonel Jessup, and who had been sent by that officer for directions as to the dispositions of the 1st brigade, that general Ripley received an order from general Brown to collect the dead and wounded, and to return with the army to its encampment on the Chippewa. In obedience to the wishes of the commander in chief, this order was put into immediate execution. Major Hindman with the artillery, was already on his march, and the remnants of the regular and volunteer brigades, having first rolled the smaller pieces of the enemy's cannon down the precipice, returned to the camp in good order, and without molestation, about 1 o'clock in the morning of the 26th.

In this instance, as at the defence of Sacket's Harbour, where it has been seen, the British troops were opposed and repulsed by the same commander, the enemy claimed another decisive and more brilliant victory. The governor general, sir George Prevost, and the commanding general Drummond, complimented the regulars and militia engaged in it, "*for their exemplary steadiness, gallantry and discipline, in repulsing all the efforts of a numerous and determined enemy, to carry the position of Lundy's lane,*" and announced, "*that their exertions had been crowned with success, by the complete defeat of the enemy.*"

If, upon ground of their own selection, and with a body of 1637 men, to assail an advanced party of an enemy of only 750, and after an hour's obstinate conflict, to repose on their arms, until they could be relieved by reinforcements—If, after a mutual reinforcement, their enemy's numbers should amount to two brigades of 1450 infantry, a detachment of 367 artillery, and a corps of 600 volunteers, making in all 2417 men, and their own force should consist, according to a report of one of their officers,

of 3450 regulars, 1200 incorporated militia, and 480 Indians, making in all 5130 men, and, with this disparity of strength, they should be driven from the eminence on which they had advantageously posted themselves, with the loss, too, of all their cannon—If after three desperate assaults, any one of them upwards of 20 minutes in duration, for the recovery of their battery, and with the ability to interpose fresh lines, to be successively repulsed with immense losses, and, after a contest of six hours (from half past 5 in the evening, until 12 at night) between some of the best disciplined troops of Europe, and newly raised recruits, the former eventually to withdraw from the field, and leave their enemy in possession not only of their cannon, but of one of their generals, the second in command, the first having narrowly escaped capture—If this be to effect the complete defeat and overthrow of their adversary, the British troops certainly achieved a brilliant and decisive victory. The governor general of the Canadas was in the performance of his duty when he complimented them for their steadiness; and, the prince regent of England betrayed no precipitation, when he announced it to the world, and permitted “NIAGARA” to be worn upon the caps of one of the regiments.

The captured artillery, it is true, was re-obtained by its original owners; but, its return to their possession, was neither the result of any desperate effort to regain it, nor the evidence of a victory. They had entered into the engagement under circumstances highly advantageous. Their force could be continually augmented, either by requisitions for militia, or by the concentration of their regulars from the neighbouring posts, and was already double the strength of the Americans. They were surrounded by deposits of ammunition, and, being in the vicinity of their garrisons, could at any time, administer to the wants of their army. Not so the Americans.—They were at a distance from any resources, whence they might derive either supplies or reinforcements.—Their numbers had been lessened by repeated skirmishes with the enemy, and by the casualties commonly incident to armies. With the odds against them, they had been drawn into this tremendous struggle, the long dura-



tion of which so much exhausted their troops, and reduced their numbers, that after becoming the entire masters of the field, and keeping possession of it nearly an hour, they retired with a force not amounting to the complement of two regiments. In this reduced state, and without the means of removing the captured property, they left the enemy's cannon at the foot of the eminence, on which they had proudly and gallantly wrested it from him. Had their means been less limited, they might have embellished the conquest not only with these, but other splendid trophies; put all disputation for ever at rest; and left no alternative to the enemy, but an acknowledgment of his defeat and disgrace. In a battle desperate and tremendous as this is represented to have been, the losses on each side must necessarily have been immense. In killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, the total of both armies amounted to 1729, the proportion being nearly equal, and the killed and wounded alone 1384. On the side of the enemy, 1 assistant adjutant general, 1 captain, 3 subalterns, and 79 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed; lieutenant general Drummond, major general Riall, and 3 lieutenants colonel, 2 majors, 8 captains, 22 subalterns, and 522 non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded; and the prisoners and missing amounted to, 1 aid de camp (captain Loring,) 5 other captains, 9 subalterns, and 220 non-commissioned officers and privates; making in all 878 men.

Many officers of distinction fell also on the other side, and the total loss was little less than that of the British: it consisted of 1 major, 5 captains, 5 subalterns, 150 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; major general Brown, brigadiers general Scott and Porter; 2 aids de camp, 1 brigade major, 1 colonel, 4 lieutenants colonel, 1 major, 7 captains, 37 subalterns, and 515 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded; and 1 brigade major, 1 captain, 6 subalterns, and 102 non-commissioned officers and privates, missing; making a grand total of 851, and a difference of 27 only between the contending parties.

Of the individual gallantry of the officers, from the highest in rank, down to the youngest subaltern, the most positive evidence is furnished by the long list of killed and

wounded. Every man upon the field being engaged in the battle, the bravery of no one officer was distinguishable from another, except in those instances when by the change of the enemy's movements, detachments were thrown into situations, from which they could be extricated only by the most daring intrepidity.

When the American forces returned to their encampment at Chippewa, major general Brown directed general Ripley to refresh the troops and proceed with them early in the morning, to the battle ground; with a view, no doubt, to reconnoitre the enemy, and if he loitered near the field in a position from which he might be advantageously driven, to engage him; but certainly not to assail a superior force, under circumstances to the last degree unfavourable, and which would inevitably result in the total destruction of the American army. The troops, now amounting to about 1560, being put in motion, in obedience to this order, general Ripley despatched reconnoitring parties in advance of his main body.—From these he learned that the enemy was posted on the field in advance of his former position on the eminence; reinforced as had been reported by the prisoners; his line drawn up between the river and a thick wood, his flanks resting on each, and his cannon stationed so as to enfilade the road. Under such circumstances, it would have been highly injudicious to have attacked him; and, where no advantages are to be gained, the useless effusion of human blood, is a stain upon the ability and valour, as well as upon the judgment and humanity of the soldier. General Ripley seeing the impossibility of regaining the field of battle, and, the probability of his own flanks being compelled to fall back, by the immense superiority of the enemy's numbers, turned his army towards the Chippewa; whence, having first destroyed the bridges over that stream, as well as the platforms, which he had previously constructed at the enemy's old works there, he pursued his retreat towards the fort Erie; and reached it in good order on the following day. There he determined upon making a decided stand against the British troops, whose regular and gradual approaches he anticipated.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Defences of Fort Erie extended—Invested by the enemy—The British land below Buffaloe, and are repulsed at Conejockeda Creek—Affairs of outposts—Death of Major Morgan—Assault upon Fort Erie—The besiegers driven back to their works—Loss of the schooners Somers and Ohio—Renewal of the cannonade and bombardment.*

THIS retrograde movement of the American army was no sooner effected, and the situations of the different regiments allotted in the encampment, than the commanding general (Ripley) immediately directed the lines of defence to be extended, the fort enlarged, and new batteries erected. With the aid of the engineers, lieutenants colonel Wood and M'Ree, defences of abattis, traverses, intrenchments, and redoubts, were instantly commenced, and from the 27th of July, until the 2d or 3d of August, the troops were employed night and day, in placing the works in a state, to sustain the expected and almost certain attack. Had lieutenant general Drummond followed up the victory which he claimed, he would have found the shattered American brigades scarcely in any kind of condition to resist him. But the cautious enemy did not choose to pursue a retreating army, whose troops had given him such signal proofs of their intrepidity, until his own numbers were again enlarged. On the 29th of July, being reinforced by the right and left wings of De Watteville troops (1100 strong), he pushed forward to the investment of the fort. This reinforcement extended his numbers to 5352 men, and with this formidable superiority of strength, he appeared, on the 3d day of August, before a fort, which, but a few days before, was declared by the enemy to be a wretched stockade, altogether incapable of defence.



Having driven in the American picquets, and formed his encampment two miles distant from the garrison, he gradually approached within 400 or 600 yards of the fort (properly so called) commenced a double line of intrenchments, erected batteries in front of them at points from which he could throw in an effectual fire, and planted his cannon so as to enfilade the works. Seeing by these indications that the British commander was preparing for a regular siege, general Ripley availed himself of the time thus lost by the enemy, in opening his trenches, and carried on his defensive arrangements with unceasing alacrity.

The approach of the British army on the 2d of August, being discovered by major Morgan, of the 1st riflemen, to whom, with a detachment of 240 men, the defence of the village of Buffaloe, which had regained its former flourishing condition, was entrusted, he suspected the enemy of making a feint upon fort Erie, with a view to an actual attack upon Buffaloe. To defeat any such object, he immediately took a position on the upper side of Conejockeda creek, cut away the bridge crossing it, and threw up a breastwork of logs in the course of the night. Though the British general had no intention of making a feint, major Morgan's precautions, in anticipation of an attack, were not uselessly adopted; for, early in the morning of the 3d, a detachment of the enemy's 41st regiment, under lieutenant colonel Tucker, crossed the Niagara in nine boats, and landed about half a mile below the creek. At the approach of day, the British colonel commenced an attack upon the detachment, and sent forward a party to repair the bridge, under cover of his fire. Major Morgan did not attempt to retard the enemy's advances, until he was within rifle distance, when he opened a fire, which proved so destructive, that lieutenant colonel Tucker fell back to the skirt of a neighbouring wood, and kept up the contest at long shot. In the mean time, general Drummond threw over reinforcements, and the British detachment now amounted to nearly 1200 men. With this force colonel Tucker attempted to flank his antagonist, by despatching his left wing to ford the creek above, and press down upon the opposite side: this movement being observed, major Morgan sent forward lieutenants Ryan, Smith and Armstrong, to oppose

the fording party. Between these detachments, an engagement took place, a short distance above the breastwork, and after several heavy discharges, the enemy fell back to his main body, with considerable loss. Lieutenant colonel Tucker, finding that the object of his expedition against Buffaloe (the recapture of general Riall, and the destruction of the public stores there) could not be achieved without an immense loss; and knowing the desire of lieutenant general Drummond, to augment, rather than decrease, the force destined for the siege of the fort, on the opposite shore, he determined on abandoning the enterprise, and drawing off his troops to Squaw island, and returned thence to the Canadian shore. With so small a force, major Morgan could not attempt to annoy him, in his retreat. He is supposed to have lost a considerable number of men, many dead bodies being found in the creek, and upon the field, and six prisoners being taken by the detachment. In this gallant little affair, captain Hamilton, and lieutenants Wadsworth and M'Intosh, of the riflemen, and five privates, were wounded, and two privates killed.

By the 7th of August, most of the batteries and traverses about fort Erie, were completed. Upon a battery upwards of 20 feet high, and situated at Snake Hill, the southern extremity of the works, five guns were mounted, and the command given to major Towson, of the artillery. Two other batteries between Towson's and the main works, one mounting three guns, under captain Bidle, and the other two guns, under lieutenant Fontaine, were also completed. The northern point of the fort had been extended to the water, and the Douglass battery, of two guns, erected on the bank. The dragoons, infantry, riflemen, and volunteers, were encamped between the western ramparts and the water, and the artillery under major Hindman, stationed within the main works.

Whilst these preparations were making, several partial cannonades took place, without any known effect on either side: before any regular firing was commenced, brigadier general Gaines arrived at the fort, and assumed the command of the army. General Ripley then returned to the command of his brigade. The British army was now strongly posted behind their works, and general Gaines determined to ascertain their strength, and endeavour, if

possible, to draw them out. On the 6th, he sent the rifle corps, with major Morgan, who had been previously transferred from the American shore, to pass through the woods, intervening between the British lines and the fort, and with orders to amuse the enemy's light troops, until his columns should indicate an intention to move; in that event, major Morgan was to retire gradually, until his corps should have fallen back, upon a strong line posted in the plain before the fort, to receive the pursuing British troops. The object of this movement failed—major Morgan having encountered and forced the enemy's light troops into the lines, with the loss of eleven killed and three wounded and made prisoners; but, notwithstanding, he maintained his position upwards of two hours, he could not succeed in drawing forth the main body of the British troops. He therefore returned to the fort, after losing five men killed and four wounded. By the 10th, the enemy's line was protected by several block-houses, and a long wooden breastwork. To examine these works, captain Birdsall, of the 4th rifle regiment, was sent out with a detachment of the 1st, and his own company, amounting in all to 160 men. After some skirmishing, he succeeded in beating in two of their picquet guards, with a loss on their side of ten men killed; and one killed and three wounded of the riflemen. On the 12th, a working party of the enemy, supported by a guard of his light troops, was discovered to be opening an avenue, for the construction of an additional battery, from which, to annoy the rear of the fort. Agreeably to the orders of general Gaines, major Morgan detached about 100 men, under captain Birdsall, to cut them off: that officer immediately assailed the guard, and, after a smart contest, drove in both it and the working party. In the event of the enemy's guard being reinforced from their lines, major Morgan had been also ordered to hold his corps in readiness to support captain Birdsall; and as a large body of the enemy was observed to be approaching upon the detachment, the major promptly moved forward and engaged it. A warm and spirited conflict followed, in which several men were killed on both sides. At length, however, an additional party of the enemy coming up to the aid of that engaged, major Morgan ordered his corps to retire, and had scarcely given a signal to that effect, when he received a musket ball in



his head, which for ever deprived the garrison, and his country, of his valuable services. The corps was conducted to the fort by captain Birdsall, and the body of its brave and lamented commander, interred at Buffaloe, with the proper honours and solemnities.

During these repeated skirmishes, and in the intervals between the sorties of detachments, the besiegers, and the besieged were diligently engaged in strengthening their respective works; and from the 7th until the 14th of the month, an almost unceasing fire was kept up between them with various effect. On the night of the 14th, the emotion and tumult in the British encampment, gave certain indications of an intended attack upon the fort.—General Ripley, always on the alert, was among the first to discover these indications, and having first ordered his brigade, stationed to the left, to be formed within the line of defence, he despatched his aid, lieutenant Kirby, to inform general Gaines, of his conviction of the enemy's contemplation: General Gaines was himself already persuaded, that an attempt would very soon be made to storm the garrison; and lieutenant Kirby had no sooner delivered his message at head quarters, than the firing of a picquet, commanded by lieutenant Belknap, of the infantry, assured him that the moment had arrived. Dispositions were immediately made to receive the assault, and the troops of the garrison anticipated its result with pride and enthusiasm.

Lieutenant general Drummond, having appointed the morning of the 15th, for a vigorous and sudden assault upon the fort, had previously arranged the order of attack in three columns, to be made at three distinct points, with a view to harass and distract the garrison. His right column, under lieutenant colonel Fischer, of the 8th, and composed of parts of the 89th and 100th regiments; De Watteville's detachments from the royal artillery with rocketeers; and a picquet of cavalry; was to make a detour of three miles through the woods, and to assault the southern extremity of the works. His centre column, under lieutenant colonel Drummond, of the 104th, and composed of detachments from that, and the 41st regiment of infantry, of the royal artillery, seamen and marines, was to be conducted by captain Barney, of the 29th, to

the attack of the fort. The left column, under colonel Scott, of the 103d, and composed of that regiment, was to be led by captain Elliot, to penetrate the openings in the works between the fort and the lake, and to scale the battery upon the bank. In advance of lieutenant Fischer's column, the British picquets on Buck's road, together with the Indians of the encampment, were to be pushed on, by lieutenant colonel Nichols, to drive in the American outposts. The royals; another part of De Watteville's regiment; the Glengarians; and the incorporated militia, under lieutenant colonel Tucker, were to be held in reserve: and the 19th light dragoons, stationed in the ravine, in the rear of the fort, to receive and convey the prisoners to the encampment; a duty which it did not fall to their lot to perform.

General Gaines, not knowing at what points the assault would be made, prepared to receive it at all those which he suspected the enemy might judge to be assailable. The command of the fort and bastions was given to captain Alexander Williams, of the artillery, which, with the battery on the margin of the lake, under lieutenant Douglass, of the engineers, and thence called the Douglass battery, formed the northeast and southeast angle of the works. In a block-house, near the salient bastion, a detachment of the 19th infantry, was stationed, under major Trimble. The batteries in front, under captains Biddle and Fanning, were supported by general Porter's volunteers, and the corps of riflemen. The whole body of artillery, distributed throughout the garrison, was commanded by major Hindman. The first brigade of infantry, under lieutenant colonel Aspinwall, was posted on the right; and general Ripley's brigade supported Towson's battery, and the line upon the left. On the evening of the 14th, a few hours before the commencement of the assault, and whilst these dispositions were making to repel it, one of the enemy's shells fell into a small magazine within the American works, and produced an awful explosion. From one end of the British line to the other, a loud shout was in consequence uttered, but as no bad effects followed the explosion, the shout was repeated in the fort, and in the midst of the enemy's exultation, captain Williams immediately discharged all his heavy pieces.

At half an hour after two, on the morning of the 15th, though the darkness was excessive, the approach of lieutenant colonel Fischer with the right column, 1300 strong, was distinctly heard on the left of the garrison. The 2d brigade, the command of the 21st regiment having been given to lieutenant colonel Wood, of the engineers, and the artillery of Towson's battery were prepared to receive him. Marching promptly forward, lieutenant colonel Fischer assailed the battery with scaling ladders, and the line toward the lake with the bayonet. He was permitted to come close up to the works, when the 21st and 23d regiments, and the artillery upon the battery, opened a sudden and tremendous fire, which threw his whole column into confusion, rendered him utterly unable to sustain the contest, and prevented his making an impression upon the works. Having retired some distance to re-organize his column, he immediately made new arrangements for, and varied the shape of his next attack, so as to avoid those points, from which the greatest measure of destruction had been dealt out to him. According to the general plan, however, which it was incumbent on him to pursue, it was necessary that the battery should be carried; but, with the means to effect this object, he was badly provided.—With scaling ladders, of no more than 16 feet in length, he could not possibly throw his troops upon a battery, of about 25 feet high, and his second attempt, equally furious as the first, met with no greater success. He was again repulsed, and with considerable loss. Convinced of his inability to get possession of the battery, and feeling the deadly effects of the incessant showers of grape, which were thrown upon him, he determined, in his next effort, to pass the point of the abattis, by wading breast deep into the lake, to which the works were open. In this attempt also, he was unsuccessful, nearly 200 of his men being either killed or drowned, and the remainder precipitately falling back. Without waiting to know the result of the attack, upon the right of the works, which had been already made by the second and third column, he ordered a retreat to the British encampment, which he did not effect, without the loss of many of his rear guard, taken prisoners, in a sally made from the works, by the order of general Ripley. \*



The attack from the centre and left column, the first of 700, and the second of 800 men, was reserved until the contest became very animated between lieutenant colonel Fischer's column, and the troops upon the left. From the line of defences, between the Douglass battery and the fort, and from those in front of the garrison, lieutenant general Drummond supposed reinforcements would be drawn to the aid of the southern extremity of the works, and with this view he had given greater strength to his right, than to his other columns, and intended to avail himself of the consequent weakened state, of the north, and south-east angles of the American post. The picquets being driven in, the approach of lieutenant colonel Drummond was heard from the ravine, and colonel Scott's column at the same time advanced along the margin of the water. From the salient bastion of the fort, captain Williams immediately opened his fire upon the centre column—whilst the approach of colonel Scott was attempted to be checked by the Douglass battery, and captains Boughton and Harding's New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, on its right; the 9th infantry, under captain Foster, on its left; and a 6-pounder planted at that point, under the management of colonel M'Ree. At 50 yards distance from the line, the enemy's left column made a momentary pause, and instantly recoiled from the fire of the cannon and musketry. But the centre column, having advanced upon every assailable point of the fort, in defiance of the rapid and heavy discharges of the artillery, and having ascended the parapet, by means of a large number of scaling ladders, its officers called out to the line, extending to the lake, to desist firing—an artifice which succeeded so well, that the Douglass battery, and the infantry, supposing the order to proceed from the garrison suspended their fire, until the deception was discovered. The left column, in the mean time, recovered from its confusion, and was led up to a second charge, from which it was again repulsed, before it had an opportunity of planting the scaling ladders, and with the loss of its commander, and upwards of one-third of its men.

Whilst the second attempt was in operation, the centre column was with great difficulty, thrown back from the salient bastion; and the troops within the fort, were

quickly reinforced from general Ripley's brigade, and general Porter's volunteers. But lieutenant colonel Drummond, actuated by a determination (not to be overcome by a single repulse) to force an entrance into the garrison, and momentarily expecting the reserve to be ordered up by the lieutenant general, returned to the assault a second and a third time. By the gallant efforts, however, of major Hindman and his artillery, and the infantry detachment of major Trimble, he was, each time, more signally repulsed than before; and colonel Scott's column having withdrawn from the action, upon the fall of its leader, lieutenant Douglass was busily engaged in giving such a direction to the guns of his battery, as to cut off the communication between Drummond's column, and the reserve of lieutenant colonel Tucker.

The new bastions which had been commenced for the enlargement of the old fort Erie, not being yet completed, the only opposition which could be given to the enemy's approaches upon those points was by means of small arms. The batteries of captain Biddle and captain Fanning (formerly Fontaine's) in the works intervening between Towson's battery and the fort, were therefore opened upon the enemy with great vivacity, and his advances from the plain, frequently checked by those gallant and meritorious officers.

After this third repulse, lieutenant colonel Drummond, taking advantage of the darkness of the morning, and of the heavy columns of smoke, which concealed all objects from the view of the garrison, moved his troops silently round the ditch, repeated his charge, and reascended his ladders with such velocity, as to gain footing on the parapet, before any effectual opposition could be made. Being in the very midst of his men, he directed them to charge vigorously with their pikes and bayonets, and to show no quarters to any yielding soldier of the garrison.\* This order was executed with the utmost rapidity and the most obstinate previous parts of the engagement, formed no kind of parallel to the violence and desperation of the present conflict.

\* General Gaines, in his official letter, speaking of lieutenant colonel Drummond, observes, "The order of '*Give the Yankees no quarter*,' was often reiterated by this officer, whose bravery, if it had been seasoned with virtue, would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier."

Captain Williams, and lieutenants M'Donough and Watmough of the artillery, being in the most conspicuous situations, were personally engaged with the assailants, and were all severely wounded—the first, captain Williams, mortally.\* Not all the efforts of major Hindman and his command, nor major Trimble's infantry, nor a detachment of riflemen under captain Birdsall, who had posted himself in the ravelin, opposite the gateway of the fort, could dislodge the determined and intrepid enemy from the bastion; though the deadly effect of their fire prevented his approaches beyond it. It was now in his entire possession. About this time, lieutenant M'Donough's wounds, rendered him almost incapable of further resistance, and he demanded quarter from the enemy, but lieutenant colonel Drummond personally refused it, and repeated his instructions to his troops, to deny it, in all instances. The shocking inhumanity of this order roused the exhausted spirit of the lieutenant, and seizing a handspike, he defended himself against a numerous party of the assailants, until he received a pistol shot discharged at him by the hand of their commander. Lieutenant colonel Drummond survived this act but a few moments—the fall of M'Donough being avenged by a person standing near him, who immediately shot the colonel through the breast.

The loss of their leader did not check the impetuosity of the enemy's troops, and they continued the use of their pikes and small arms until the day broke, and repulsed several furious charges made upon them by de-

\* This amiable young officer was the son of colonel Jonathan Williams, who had long been at the head of the United States' engineer department; to whom the nation is greatly indebted for the construction of many of the principal fortifications; and who was a member elect of the fourteenth congress, from the city of Philadelphia. The captain was also formerly of the engineer corps, but having been transferred to the artillery, and being anxious to share in the honours and the perils of the campaign of 1814, he solicited to be sent to the Niagara frontier, and received an order to repair thither, from fort Mifflin, a garrison which, for several months, he had commanded with reputation. Early in the spring of that year, though in a state of convalescence from a dangerous fever, he proceeded to the lines, and joined the army of general Brown, in which no officer was more universally esteemed.



tachments of the garrison. The approach of daylight enabled both parties to give a more certain direction to their fire. The artillerists had already severely suffered; but with those that remained, and a reinforcing detachment of infantry, major Hindman renewed his attempts to drive the British 41st and 104th from the bastion. Captain Birdsall, at the same moment, drawing out his riflemen from the ravelin, rushed through the gateway into the fort, and joining in the charge, received an accidental wound from one of his own men, just as the attack failed. Detachments from the 1st brigade, under captain Foster, were then introduced over the interior bastion, to the assistance of major Hindman; these detachments were to charge at a different point of the salient, or exterior bastion, and were handsomely led on by captain Foster, and the assistant inspector general, major Hall. This charge also failed; the passage up the bastion not being wide enough to admit more than 3 men abreast. It was frequently, however, repeated, and though it sometimes occasioned much slaughter among the enemy's infantry, was invariably repulsed. By the operations of the artillery, from a demi-bastion in the fort, and the continual blaze of fire from the small arms, added to the effects of the repeated charges, the enemy's column, being considerably cut up, and many of its principal officers wounded, began to recoil; which, being observed by the besieged party, and the contest having entirely subsided on the left flank of the works, reinforcements were brought up from that point, and many of the enemy's troops, in a few moments, thrown from the bastion.

The British reserve was now expected to come up; the guns at the Douglass battery had by this time been turned so as to enfilade that column in its approach; captain Fanning was already playing upon the enemy with great effect; and captain Biddle was ordered to post a piece of artillery, so as to enfilade the salient glacis.— This piece was served with uncommon vivacity, notwithstanding captain Biddle had been severely wounded in the shoulder. All these preparations being made for an effectual operation upon the enemy's remaining column, and from the dreadful carnage which had already taken place, it was scarcely supposed that he would continue

the assault much longer. But 3 or 400 men of the reserve were about to rush upon the parapet to the assistance of those recoiling, when a tremendous and dreadful explosion took place, under the platform, which carried away the bastion, and all who happened to be upon it.\* The enemy's reserve immediately fell back, and in a short time the contest terminated in the entire defeat of the assailants, who returned with the shattered columns to their encampment.

On retiring from the assault, according to the report of general Gaines, the British army left upon the field 222 killed, among whom were 14 officers of distinction; 174 wounded; and 186 prisoners; making a total of 582. Others who were slightly wounded had been carried to their works.

The official account of lieutenant general Drummond does not acknowledge so large a number in killed, but makes the aggregate loss much greater. His adjutant general reported, 57 killed; 309 wounded; and 539 missing—in all 905.

The American loss amounted to 17 killed; 56 wounded; and 1 lieutenant (Fontaine) who was thrown over the parapet, while defending the bastion, and 10 privates, prisoners—in all 84 men; making a difference in their fa-

\* This explosion, to which alone, the enemy attributed the failure of his arms, notwithstanding the signal repulse of his right and left columns, has been variously accounted for. It was occasioned by the communication of a spark to an ammunition chest, placed under the platform of the bastion, but by what means, the narrator of this event has not been able, after an investigation of many papers, written to him upon the subject, to ascertain. It is to be regretted, that a fact constituting so important a feature in this memorable defence, should never have been satisfactorily developed. Several letters from officers, engaged at the right flank of the American works, state it to have been the result of entire accident; whilst others relate, that lieutenant M'Donough, not having been immediately removed from the foot of the bastion, on which he had been twice wounded, and being highly exasperated at the determination, which he saw in the conduct of the enemy's troops, to shew no mercy to the vanquished soldier, resolved upon devoting himself to stop the progress of their inhuman career, and to this end threw a lighted match into the chest of ammunition, and by its immediate explosion, produced those tremendous effects, which restored the bastion to the Americans, and terminated the conflict.

your of 821. During the cannonade and bombardment which commenced on the 13th, and continued until an hour before the assault on the morning of the 15th, 45 men of the American garrison were killed and wounded. Captain Biddle, lieutenant Zantzinger, and adjutant lieutenant Watmough, of the artillery, and lieutenant Patterson, of the 19th infantry, among the latter.

A night or two before the attack upon fort Erie, the British general furnished captain Dobbs, of the royal navy, with a sufficient number of troops to man 9 large boats, which were completely fitted to attack the 3 schooners, the Somers, Porcupine, and Ohio, then lying at anchor off the fort. The Porcupine succeeded in beating them off, but the Somers and Ohio were carried, after a gallant resistance, in which the enemy lost 2 seamen killed, and 4 wounded; and the schooners, 1 seaman killed, and 3 officers and 4 seamen wounded. The captured schooners were taken down the Niagara, and anchored near Frenchman's creek; the Porcupine immediately after sailed for the town of Erie.

In consequence of his immense losses in the assault, the enemy's force was reduced almost to the number of the troops within the garrison; and until he was again reinforced, he did not think proper to carry on his operations. A few days brought him a reinforcement of two full regiments, and having enlarged his batteries, and made arrangements to force the Americans to the evacuation of fort Erie, he opened a fire from his whole line, and threw in hot shot, shells, and every destructive implement within his reach, without intermission, during the remainder of the month of August. On the 28th, general Gaines was severely wounded in several parts of his body by a shell which fell through the roof of his quarters, and exploded at his feet. He was fortunate enough to escape suffocation, by gaining the door of the apartment; but being entirely disabled, he retired to Buffalo, and left the command again in the hands of general Ripley, who neglected no means to facilitate the completion of the works, which with the assistance of the engineers, he had originally planned.



## CHAPTER XX.

*Invasion of the American territory by sir George Prevost—Battle of the Saranac—Defeat and capture of the British fleet on Lake Champlain—Plattsburg evacuated—Continuation of the siege of Fort Erie—The besieged make a sortie from their works, and storm those of the besiegers—The British raise the siege, and retire to the Chippewa—Engagement at Lyon's Creek—Destruction of Fort Erie by the Americans, and evacuation of Upper Canada—Operations against Michilimackinac—Loss of the U. S. vessels Scorpion and Tigress—Expedition into Canada, under general M'Arthur.*

THE operations against the enemy's positions along the Niagara, had scarcely been entered upon, when the governor general, sir George Prevost, matured the plan of the expedition, having for its object the invasion of the American territory, from Lower Canada; the defeat and destruction of the right division of the United States' army then lying in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg, under major general Izard; and the subjugation of the country to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. No offensive measures against any part of Lower Canada, by this army, being at that time in contemplation, and the apprehensions of the war department having been strongly excited about the safety of the left division, after its investment at fort Erie, general Izard received orders to march for that post, with a reinforcement of the largest proportion of his troops, and to assume the command of the garrison. Accordingly, after detaching about 1500 men, under brigadier general Macomb, most of whom were either sick or convalescent, and requiring of general Mooers, of the New York militia, the aid of a few volunteer companies, for the defence of Plattsburg, he marched for Sacket's Harbour, with upwards of 3000 men. Being thus left in command of a position, open to the attacks of the

enemy's naval, as well as his land forces, general Macomb neglected no precaution to prevent surprise, and to put his small army in the best state of discipline, though on the 1st of September, in consequence of the best brigades having been broken up, to form general Izard's division, he had but one battalion properly organized.—The works erecting were on that day unfinished, and the troops, therefore, divided into detachments to complete them.

Transports, with troops, had been continually arriving at Quebec, from England, and such was the secrecy and address, with which sir George Prevost made preparations for his intended expedition, that, before the 1st of September, he had organized a powerful army of 14,000 men opposite Montreal, constituted of the most experienced generals, and distinguished officers of the British army. This comparatively immense force consisted of three brigades and a corps of reserve, the brigades being divided into twenty-four divisions, and having a staff composed of two lieutenants general, five majors general, and a proportionate number of assistants and deputies. The respective brigades were commanded by majors general, Robertson, Powers, Brisbane, and Baynes (adjutant general). Major general Kempt commanded the reserve. Sir Sidney Beckwith was quarter master general to this army, and lieutenant general De Rottenburg, the second in command—sir George Prevost commanding in person.

About the first of the month, he occupied with these troops the village of Champlain, and issued addresses and proclamations, inviting the citizens to his standard, and promising them the protection of his majesty's government. From Champlain he continued to make gradual approaches towards Plattsburg, until the 6th. Early on the morning of that day, he made a rapid advance in two columns, one coming down the Beckmantown road, and the other along the Lake road. At a bridge crossing Dead creek, intersecting the latter, general Macomb had stationed a detachment of 200 men, under captain Sproul, of the 13th, to abattis the woods, and to place obstructions in the road; after which, he was to fortify himself with two field pieces, sent with him for that purpose, and to receive orders from lieutenant colonel Appling, who with 100 riflemen, was reconnoitring the enemy's move-

ments some distance in advance of this position. The brigade of general Brisbane, which approached through the Beckmantown road with more rapidity than the other, was met by about 700 militia, under general Mooers, who, after a slight skirmish with the enemy's light parties, with the exception of one or two companies, fled in the greatest disorder. Those who were intrepid enough to remain, were immediately formed with a corps of 250 regulars, under major Wooll, of the 29th, and disputed the passage of the road for some time. But their fears also getting at length the better of their judgment, notwithstanding the enemy fired only from his flankers and patrolling parties, they followed the example of their comrades, and precipitately retired to the village. Major Wooll's regulars remained firm however, and being joined by captain L. Leonard's park of flying artillery, and the 6th, and a detachment of the 34th regiment, continued to annoy the advancing parties of the British column, and killed lieutenant colonel Wellington, of the 3d, or Buffs, who was at its head.

General Macomb, at this moment, personally directing the movements in the town, soon saw that the enemy's object, in making so much more rapid a march on its west, than on its north, was to cut off lieutenant colonel Appling and captain Sproul's detachments, despatched his aid, lieutenant Root, with orders to those officers to withdraw their forces from Dead creek, to join the detachment of major Wooll, and to fall upon the enemy's right flank. Whilst lieutenant colonel Appling was proceeding in obedience to this order, he was encountered, on the north side of the town, by the light divisions of the enemy's 1st brigade, sent for the purpose of cutting him off, and which had that moment emerged from the woods. Their numbers were superior, and had he been delayed an instant longer on the Lake road, he must inevitably have yielded. Here he engaged, but after a short contest, retired before them. In the centre of the town he re-engaged them, and being joined by major Wooll, was ordered to retire to the American works, on the south side of the Saranac.

The retreat was effected in good order, and covered by a guard of 120 men, under captain M'Glassin, of the 15th infantry; the detachments alternately retiring and



keeping up a brisk and effectual fire upon the British columns. Having reached the works with a trifling loss, general Macomb ordered lieutenant Harrison, of the 13th, under the direction of major Wooll, and protected by captain Leonard's artillery, to destroy the bridge over the Saranac.

This order was not executed without some difficulty. The British having occupied the houses near the bridge, with their light troops, kept up a constant fire from the windows, and wounded lieutenants Harrison and Turner, of the 13th, and Taylor of the 34th. These troops were, however, soon after dislodged by a discharge of hot shot from the American works, and in conjunction with the right column, were engaged the remainder of the day in various attempts to drive the guards from the several bridges.—But the planks had all been taken up, and being placed in the form of breastworks, served to cover the American light parties stationed for the defence of the passages. The obstructions which had been thrown in the way of the column advancing by the Lake road, and the destruction of the bridge over Dead creek, greatly impeded its approaches, and, in attempting to ford the creek, it received a severe and destructive fire, from the gun boats and gallies anchored in front of the town.—But not all the gallies, aided by the armament of the whole flotilla, which then lay opposite Plattsburg, under commodore Macdonough, could have prevented the capture of Macomb's army, after its passage of the Saranac; had sir George Prevost pushed his whole force upon the margin of that stream. Like general Drummond, at Erie, he made a pause, in full view of the unfinished works of the Americans, and consumed five days in erecting batteries, and throwing up breastworks, for the protection of his approaches. Of this interval, the American general did not fail to avail himself, and kept his troops constantly employed in finishing his line of redoubts. Whilst both parties were thus engaged in providing for the protection of their forces, the main body of the British army came up with the advance; and general Macomb was also reinforced by the militia of New York, and the volunteers from the mountains of Vermont. Skirmishes between light detachments, sallies from the different works, and frequent attempts to restore the bridges, served

to amuse the besiegers and the besieged, while the former were getting up a train of battering cannon, and the latter strengthening their lines, and preparing to repel the attack. In one of these skirmishes, on the 7th, a British detachment making a violent effort to obtain possession of the pass of a bridge, was handsomely repulsed by a small guard under lieutenant Runk, of the 6th infantry, who received a musket ball in his body and expired on the following day. He was the only officer killed during the siege.

The New York militia and Vermont volunteers, were now principally stationed at the different bridges crossing the Saranac, or in the wood opposite the fording places. From these positions they annoyed the enemy's guards, and poured repeated discharges of musketry into his masked batteries.

Two of general Macomb's new works were called fort Brown, and fort Scott, and opposite the former it was suspected, a very powerful masked battery had been constructed, in order suddenly to demolish it at a time of general attack. To discover the truth of his suspicion, and if possible to destroy or mutilate such a work, captain M'Glassin, on the night of the 9th, volunteered his services, to ford the river with a competent detachment. His enterprise was approved by the general, who assigned him the command of 50 men.—With these the captain succeeded in fording the river nearly under fort Brown, and upon gaining the opposite shore, proceeded with great secrecy about 300 yards. At this distance, from the margin of the river, he encountered a guard of 150 men, whom he instantly engaged, and with such vigour and address as to deceive them, with respect to his own force, and after a short contest to drive them behind a work, which he discovered to be the suspected masked battery. Having succeeded in the accomplishment of one of the objects of his enterprise, neither captain M'Glassin, nor his brave detachment, could think of returning to the army, without having signalized the expedition by some act more important in its consequences, than the putting to flight an enemy's guard, however superior in numbers. He accordingly led up his detachment to charge upon the work, into which the British guard had fled, and by one or two vigorous onsets, in which he had

but one man wounded, he carried the battery, and entirely routed its defenders, with the loss of their commanding officer and 16 men killed, and several wounded. Being now in possession of a work, which would have incalculably annoyed the batteries at fort Brown, captain M'Glassin destroyed it with all possible haste, and returned to the American works, with the loss of 3 men missing. For this gallant and hazardous essay, which had a tendency not only to deceive the British general with regard to the actual force of general Macomb's army, and to inspire the troops, militia as well as regulars, with a spirit of enterprise, but placed a principal work, fort Brown, beyond the possibility of being silenced, captain M'Glassin received the public thanks of his commanding officer, and the brevet rank of major from the president of the United States.

On the morning of the 11th, the motives of the British general, in delaying his assault upon the American works, became apparent. Being assured of his ability, at any time, to destroy them by a single effort, he was regardless of the manner in which they might be gradually strengthened, and awaited the arrival of the British squadron from lake Champlain, in co-operation with which, he contemplated a general attack, and the easy capture of the American fleet and army. On that day, his fleet, consisting of a large frigate, the *Confiance*, of 39 guns; the brig *Linnet*, of 16; the sloops *Chub* and *Finch* (formerly the United States' sloops *Growler* and *Eagle*) of 11 guns each; and 13 gun boats and row gallies, mounting in all 95 guns, and having a complement of 1050 men, made its appearance, under captain Downie, round Cumberland Head, and immediately engaged the American squadron, under commodore Macdonough, then moored in Plattsburg bay, and consisting of the ship *Saratoga*; the brig *Eagle*; the schooner *Ticonderoga*; the sloop *Preble*; and 10 gun boats, mounting altogether 86 guns, (the largest vessel carrying 26) and being manned with 820 men.

The first gun from the *Confiance* was the signal for a general action, and sir George Prevost instantly opened his batteries upon the works on the opposite bank of the Saranac. A tremendous cannonade ensued; bomb shells and Congreve rockets were thrown into the American



lines during the whole day; and frequent, but ineffectual, attempts made to ford the river. At a bridge, about a mile up the river, an attempt to throw over a division of the enemy's army, was handsomely repulsed by a detachment of regulars; and an effort to force the passage of the bridge in the town, was effectually checked by a party of riflemen, under captain Grosvenor. But the principal slaughter took place at a ford three miles from the works. There the enemy succeeded in crossing over three companies of the 76th regiment, before his advance was impeded. A body of volunteers and militia, stationed in a contiguous wood, opened a heavy fire upon them, and after a spirited contest, in which one of these companies was entirely destroyed, its captain killed, and three lieutenants and 27 men made prisoners, those who had attained the shore, fell back in disorder upon an approaching column, then in the middle of the river. The receding and advancing columns mingled with each other, and being closely pressed by the volunteers, the whole body was thrown into a state of confusion, from which the officers could not recover them; numbers were killed in the stream, and the dead and wounded being swept along by the force of the current, sunk into one common grave.

But the result of the engagement between the two naval armaments, which continued upwards of two hours, in presence of the contending armies, soon determined the action upon land. Its effects were sensibly felt by the British general, whose plans were completely frustrated by its issue. After getting round Cumberland Head, captain Downie anchored his fleet within 300 yards of the line formed by commodore Macdonough, and placing the *Confiance* frigate in opposition to the *Saratoga*; the *Linnet* to the *Eagle*, captain Henley; one of his sloops and all his gallies, to the schooner *Ticonderoga*, lieutenant commandant Cassin, and the sloop *Preble*; his other sloop alternately attacking the *Saratoga* and *Eagle*. The latter vessel was so situated, shortly after the commencement of the action, that her guns could not be brought to bear, and captain Henly cut her cable, and placed her between the commodore's ship and the *Ticonderoga*, from which situation, though she exposed the *Saratoga* to a galling fire, she annoyed the enemy's squadron with much effect. Some minutes after 10 o'clock, nearly all the guns

on the starboard side of the *Saratoga* being either dismounted or entirely unmanageable, commodore Macdonough was obliged to put out a stern anchor, and to cut the bower cable, by which means the *Saratoga* winded on the enemy's frigate with a fresh broadside, which being promptly delivered, the *Confiance* immediately after surrendered, with 105 round shot in her hull, and her captain and 49 men killed, and 60 wounded. The *Saratoga* had 55 round shot in her hull, and had been twice set on fire by hot shot from the *Confiance*, but she sustained a loss of only 28 in killed, and 29 wounded, notwithstanding she mounted 13 guns less than her antagonist. The *Confiance* had no sooner surrendered, than the *Saratoga's* broadside was sprung to bear upon the brig, whose flag struck 15 minutes after. Captain Henley, in the *Eagle*, had already captured one of the enemy's sloops; and the *Ticonderoga*, after having sustained a galling fire, caused the surrender of the remaining vessel. The principal vessels of the British fleet being now all captured, and three of their row galleys sunk, the remaining ten escaped from the bay in a shattered condition.

Among the officers killed on board the *Saratoga*, was the 1st lieutenant, Gamble; and on board the *Ticonderoga*, lieutenant John Stansbury (son of general Tobias Stansbury, of Maryland), who was shot upon mounting the netting, to discover in what manner the guns of his division might be brought to bear more effectually upon one of the enemy's vessels. Among the wounded were lieutenant Smith, acting lieutenant Spencer, and midshipman Baldwin. The total loss of commodore Macdonough's squadron amounted to, 52 men killed, and 58 wounded. The enemy's loss was, 84 men killed, 110 wounded, and 856 prisoners, who alone amounted to a greater number than those by whom they were taken.

The capture of his fleet being announced to sir George Prevost, he immediately withdrew his forces from the assault of the American works. From his batteries, however, he kept up a constant fire until the dusk of the evening, when, being silenced by the guns of fort Moreau, under colonel M. Smith, and of forts Brown and Scott, he retired within the town, and at 9 at night sent off his artillery, and all the baggage for which he could

obtain transport. About midnight he made a disgraceful and precipitate retreat, leaving behind him all his sick and wounded, with a request that they might be generously treated by general Macomb. At daybreak of the 12th, this movement being discovered by that officer, he immediately despatched his light troops, and the volunteers and militia, in pursuit. The enemy, however, had retired with such celerity, as to reach Chazy before the pursuit was commenced, and a violent storm prevented its continuance. Immense quantities of provisions, bomb-shells, cannon balls, grape-shot, ammunition, flints, intrenching tools, tents and marquees, were taken, and upwards of 400 deserters surrendered themselves in the course of the day. Besides these, sir George lost 75 prisoners, and, as nearly as could be ascertained, about 1500 killed and wounded; among them several officers of rank. The loss of the American army, which, with the accession of the volunteers and militia, did not exceed 2500 men, amounted to 37 killed, 62 wounded, and 20 missing.

For the gallantry which they displayed in this splendid engagement, general Macomb, lieutenant colonel Appling, majors Wooll, of the 29th, and Totten, of the engineers, whose services were eminently conspicuous in the construction of the works, and captain Brooks, of the artillery, received the brevet rank of the grades next above those which they held on the day of the action. Captain Young, of the 15th, had been put on board the squadron, with a detachment of infantry, to act as marines; and for his coolness and intrepidity, in a species of service distinct from that to which he was attached, was also brevetted. Captain Grosvenor, of the infantry, and the brigade major, lieutenant Duncan, of the artillery, were conspicuous for their zeal and activity throughout the engagement; the latter was charged with the delivery of the despatches to the war department. Promotions took place also in the navy, and commodore Macdonough was immediately elevated to the rank of post captain.

The investment of fort Erie was all this time continued; the troops of the garrison were actively engaged in the completion of the bastions, and of the abattis on the right flank; and the besiegers employed in the erection of additional batteries, intended to enfilade the western ram-



parts of the American works. General Brown had returned to the post, and resumed the command of the army, which had been in the meantime reinforced by new levies of militia. About the middle of September, after these arrangements were completed, an attempt to dislodge the enemy from his intrenched works, and to deprive him of the means of annoying the garrison, was determined on. A sortie was planned, and the morning of the 17th appointed for its execution. Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, of the 15th infantry, had already opened a road from the southern angle of the garrison, to a point within pistol shot of the enemy's right wing, and with such secrecy, that it was not discovered until the actual assault commenced. About noon, the regulars, infantry, and riflemen, and the volunteers and militia, were in readiness to march; and before 2 o'clock, the sortie was made. The division issuing from the left, was commanded by general Porter, and composed of 200 riflemen and a few Indians, under colonel Gibson, and two columns, the right commanded by lieutenant colonel Wood, and the left by brigadier general Davis, of the New York militia. These columns were conducted through the woods by lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, and approached upon the enemy's new battery, on his right, with such rapidity, as to surprise the brigade stationed at his line. His batteries, Nos. 3 and 4, were gallantly stormed, and after 30 minutes close action, both carried. Colonel Gibson, and lieutenant colonel Wood, fell at the head of their columns, almost at the onset, and the respective commands devolved upon lieutenant colonel M'Donald and major Brooks.

A block house in the rear of battery No. 3, was also carried, and its garrison made prisoners. Three 24-pounders and their carriages, were destroyed, and after the prisoners were secured, and the American columns moved beyond its influence, lieutenant Riddle descended into the magazine, and first taking out a quantity of fixed ammunition, set fire to a train leading to several barrels of powder. The explosion took place much sooner than the lieutenant expected, and not being able to escape in time, he was covered with the combustibles and fragments of the magazine, from which he was extricated with the utmost difficulty. At the moment of

this explosion, the right division of the troops which had been stationed in the ravine between the fort and the enemy's works, under general Miller, with orders not to attack until general Porter had engaged the enemy's right flank, first came up to the assault, and in co-operation with colonel Gibson's column, pierced the British intrenchments, between their batteries Nos. 2 and 3, and after a severe contest, carried the former. In this assault, brigadier general Davis, of the New York militia, fell at the head of his corps. The enemy's second blockhouse, his batteries 2 and 3, and his unfinished battery No. 4, with the intervening breastworks and intrenchments, being now all in the possession of the Americans, general Miller's division inclined towards the river, with a view to assail his battery No. 1, erected at the extremity of his left flank. At this point, the enemy made a much bolder and more obstinate resistance. There, his defences were constructed with the most studied intricacy; breastworks had been thrown up, connecting his first and second battery; successive lines of intrenchments intersected each other for nearly a hundred yards in their rear; and rows of abattis and timber, planted in multiplied involutions, formed impediments to the approach of the assailants, produced some confusion in the column, and made constant appeals to the bayonet necessary. Before general Miller attempted this movement upon the battery near the water, general Brown had ordered up general Ripley with the reserve, comprised of the 21st regiment, under lieutenant colonel Upham, and desired him, as the senior officer in advance, to ascertain the general situation of the troops, and withdraw them from the enemy's works, as soon as the object of the sortie, the destruction of his batteries, was effected. The reserve, in obedience to this order, promptly advanced to the support of Miller's column, and came into the engagement as the enemy's force was strengthened from his encampment. This column was composed of the 9th, the 11th, and part of the 19th infantry; the first being commanded by lieutenant colonel Aspinwall, who lost his left arm in the assault; and the last, by major Trimble, who was dangerously shot through the body. Under the immediate direction of the same gallant leader who had carried the cannon, upon the eminence at Lundy's

lane, and aided by lieutenant colonel Upham, with the 21st and part of the 17th, it made a rapid charge upon, and stormed the remaining battery, which was instantly abandoned by the British infantry and artillery. General Ripley then ordered a line to be formed in front, for the protection of the detachments, engaged in spiking the enemy's guns, and demolishing the captured works. This line he determined also to strengthen, in order to annoy the rear of general Drummond's retreating forces, and was in the act of forwarding these arrangements; when he received a dangerous wound in the neck, and fell by the side of major Brook, of the 23d, whose command was at that moment engaged with a detachment on the enemy's right. His aid, lieutenant Kirby, caused him to be removed to the garrison, and general Miller having ordered the right wing to fall back, the troops upon the left were shortly after recalled, and the operations ceased, with the accomplishment of all the objects of the sortie.

The troops then returned to the garrison, with their prisoners, and many trophies of their valour; and on the third day after, lieutenant general Drummond, who had been joined before the sortie by majors general De-Watteville and Stovin, broke up his encampment, raised the siege, and hastily retired upon fort George. In addition to the loss of nearly all his cannon, his force was again reduced at least 1000 men; and notwithstanding the results of 47 days incessant labour, were destroyed, and 11 of his officers, and 374 of his non-commissioned officers and privates made prisoners, and transferred to the American shore, he called the event a repulse of an American army of 5000 men, by an inconsiderable number of British troops. Including the names already mentioned, general Brown's army lost 10 officers and 70 men killed; 24 officers and 190 wounded; and 10 officers and 206 missing—in all 510. Among the killed, were captains Armistead, of the rifle corps; Hall of the 11th infantry; Bradford, of the 21st infantry; and Buel, of the volunteers—ensign O'Fling, of the 23d infantry, an officer of great merit, and lieutenants Brown, Belknap, and Blakesly, of the volunteers. But the loss of the three leaders of the columns, constituting the left, or general Porter's division, was sensibly felt throughout the army.



General Davis had entered the service, with a regiment of patriotic volunteers from the county of Genessee, and very soon distinguished himself by the industrious facility with which he acquired a knowledge of military movements, and his coolness in the execution of them. The conduct of lieutenant colonel Wood, general Porter represented to be "what it uniformly had been, an exhibition of military skill, acute judgment, and heroic valour."

It was in the act of storming the 2d battery, and at the head of his detachment that colonel Gibson received the mortal wound, which, on the following day, closed his military career, and deprived the service of a generous and gallant soldier. He had entered the army as a cadet, at West Point, in 1806; and, by the force and vigour of his military genius, had elevated himself to the rank of captain, at the declaration of war. Between that period and the day on which he fell, at the moment of his triumph over the enemy, he had filled several stations of honour and great responsibility. He had been entrusted with the superintendence of the recruiting district, received the commission of inspector general, and was finally promoted to the command of the 4th rifle regiment. No officer was held in more general estimation, by the troops; and so distinguished had been his various and gallant services, that a military work, erected near Black Rock, was long since ordered to be called fort Gibson.

Soon after the enemy had been thus compelled to raise the siege of fort Erie, the garrison was enlarged by the arrival of the right division, under major general Izard, who superseded general Brown in the command of the army. The accession of this division, and the strength of the defences, which were all by this time entire, and some of them garnished with heavy cannon, rendered fort Erie impregnable to the attacks of any other than a vastly superior force; and the month, intervening between the 17th of September and the 18th of October, was constantly employed in drilling and harmonizing the discipline of the two wings of the army. In the neighbourhood of Cook's mills at Lyon's creek, a branch of the Chippewa, it was understood that quantities of provisions were deposited for the use of the British troops, and general Izard directed general Bissell, commanding

the 2d brigade of the 1st division, to march thither and seize them. On the 18th he proceeded on the expedition, and after driving in a picquet guard, and capturing its commanding officer, he threw two light companies under captain Dorman, of the 5th, and lieutenant Horrell, of the 16th infantry, and a company of riflemen, under captain Irvine, across Lyon's creek, and encamped for the night with picquet guards stationed at proper distances. One of these, commanded by lieutenant Gasaway, and stationed on the Chippewa road, was attacked by two companies of the Glengary light infantry, which were beat off with loss. On the following morning, the brigade was attacked by a force of 1200 men, under colonel the marquis of Tweedale. Captain Dorman's infantry, and Irvine's riflemen, received the first fire of the enemy, and sustained it with the greatest gallantry, whilst general Bissell was forming and bringing up the other troops to their support. Colonel Pinckney, with the 5th regiment, was ordered to turn the enemy's right flank, and to cut off a piece of artillery which he had just then brought into action, whilst major Barnard, with the 14th, was to charge them in front. These movements were instantly effected. The enemy's left flank and his centre, sunk under the fire of *corps d'élite*, and the riflemen, and the charge of the 14th: and his right flank was turned immediately after, by the rapid and forcible movement of the 5th. The recoil of his line, and the approach of the American reserve, composed of the 15th, under major Grindage, and the 16th, under colonel Pearce, to enforce the success of the main body, was no sooner perceived by the marquis, than he ordered his troops to retire from the ground on which they had engaged general Bissell; and, expecting to draw that officer after him, fell back to his fortifications at the mouth of the river. As his retreat was made without much regard to order, all his killed, and most of his wounded, were left behind. He was pursued but a small distance, when general Bissell, in conformity to his instructions, destroyed the provisions at the mills, and returned to his position at Black creek, having effected the object of his expedition, with the loss of 67, killed, wounded and missing.

The whole army, with the exception of lieutenant colonel Hindman's artillery, to whom the command of fort

Erie, and the works, was entrusted, was now operating in the vicinity of Black creek and Chippewa. Its staff had been reduced by the removal of general Ripley to the American shore, after being wounded, and the transfer of general Brown to Sacket's Harbour, and of general Miller to Boston. Immediately after the repulse of the marquis of Tweedale, general Izard directed its return to the garrison, whence, as the weather was about this time setting in extremely cold, and the season having arrived when hostilities usually ceased, it was determined to transport it to the American shore, to supply the troops with more comfortable winter quarters. The fort was accordingly destroyed, and all the batteries demolished; and after a vigorous and brilliant campaign of four months, the Canadian territory was evacuated, and the army distributed in quarters at Buffaloe, Black Rock, and Batavia. The volunteers and militia were discharged, with the thanks of the government, and general Porter received various testimonials of approbation and applause from the state to which he belonged, for his constant display of bravery, and the high degree of discipline which he maintained in his command.

Whilst these events were transpiring between the northern army, and the armies of lieutenant general Drummond and sir George Prevost, an expedition had been fitted out in the northwestern country, under the united command of commodore Sinclair, with the fleet upon lake Erie, and lieutenant colonel Croghan, with a detachment of artillery and infantry, to act against the fort and island of Michilimackinac. But the expedition failed, notwithstanding the skill and gallantry of the officers engaged in it; and the troops retired from the island, after having effected a landing, with the loss of the second officer, major Holmes, of the 32d infantry. The enemy apprised of the movement, appeared in large numbers to resist it, and being protected by breastworks, and aided by a body of Indians, exceeding the strength of colonel Croghan's detachment, that intrepid young officer was compelled to withdraw his forces, and return to the shipping. On his way to the island, however, he destroyed the fort St. Joseph's, and the enemy's establishment at Sault St. Mary's. The loss of the detachment in the expedition amounted to 66, killed, wounded and missing.



After leaving the island, commodore Sinclair stationed two of his schooners, the *Tigress* and *Scorpion*, near St. Joseph's, to cut off all supplies for the British garrison at Michilimackinac. Lieutenant colonel M'Dowall, the commandant of the garrison, supplied lieutenant Worsley, of the navy, with 250 Indians, and a detachment of the Newfoundland regiment, with whom, and 150 sailors, he attacked the schooners on the 9th of September. After a severe struggle, in which he lost a very disproportionate number of killed and wounded, he carried the vessels, and proceeded with them to Michilimackinac.

On the 22d of the following month, brigadier general M'Arthur, having collected 720 effective regulars and militia, proceeded on a secret expedition, along the western shore of lake St. Clair, and passed into the Canadian territory, at the mouth of that water. He penetrated 200 miles in the enemy's country; destroyed more than that number of muskets; attacked a large body of militia and Indians, encamped on favourable ground; made about 150 prisoners; and dispersed all the detachments to be found at the Thames, Oxford, or Grand River. During the march, he principally subsisted on the enemy, and fired several of the mills, from which the British troops in Upper Canada were supplied with food. Having gained intelligence of the evacuation of fort Erie, he abandoned his intention of proceeding to Burlington Heights, and returned to Detroit on the 17th of November. By this rapid expedition, the enemy's hostile intentions were diverted from another quarter, and his means of attacking Detroit entirely crippled; the destruction of his supplies rendering such an attempt altogether impracticable.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Repeated engagements between the gun boat flotilla and the British vessels in the Patuxent—Bladensburg—Capture of Washington—Of Alexandria—Death of sir Peter Parker—Attack upon Baltimore—Death of general Ross, and repulse of his army—Blockade and siege of New Orleans—Defeat of the British forces there—Termination of the War, by a Treaty of Peace and Amity, negotiated at Ghent.*

THE movements of the British blockading squadrons, on the eastern coast, during the summer of 1814, have already been traced to the occupation of Eastport and Castine, in the beginning of September. In their operations along the shores of the Chesapeake bay, and the southern coast, they have not been followed beyond their attack upon Hampton and Ocracock, in the month of June. At that period, a flotilla, consisting of a cutter, two gun boats, a galley, and nine large barges, sailed from Baltimore, under commodore Barney, for the protection of the inlets and harbours in the several parts of the bay. On the 1st June, being at the mouth of the Patuxent, the commodore discovered two schooners, one of which carried 18 guns, and immediately gave chase. The schooners were joined, however, by a large ship, which despatched numbers of barges to their assistance, and the commodore, in danger of being cut off from the Potomac, signaled his flotilla to sail up the Patuxent. In the river he engaged the schooners and the barges, and after beating them off with hot shot, he anchored within three miles of a 74, stationed at its mouth. In the course of a few days the enemy was reinforced by a *razee* and a sloop of war, and joining the barges of these vessels, to those with which they had already engaged commodore Bar-

ney, they followed his flotilla into St. Leonard's creek, two miles above the mouth of which his gun boats and barges were formed in line of battle, across the channel. From this point the commodore engaged them, and seeing a disposition to fall back, he immediately bore down, put them to flight, and pursued them to within a short distance of their shipping, which consisted of a ship, a brig, and two schooners. In the afternoon of the 10th, the enemy made another attempt upon the flotilla, with twenty barges and the two schooners. The commodore immediately moved upon them, and after a smart fire, drove the barges down to the 18 gun vessel, which, in attempting to beat out, was so severely handled, that her crew ran her aground and abandoned her.

These attempts upon the flotilla were constantly repeated, and its blockade in St. Leonard's continued until the 26th; on the morning of which day, a combined attack of a corps of artillery, which had been despatched from Washington to its assistance, a detachment of the marine corps, and the flotilla itself, was made upon the whole squadron, among which were two frigates. The action continued upwards of two hours, and terminated in driving the enemy from his anchorage. His ships stood down the river, and commodore Barney finding the blockade raised, sailed out of St. Leonard's, and proceeded up the Patuxent.

The British squadron, at the different stations in the Chesapeake, were now every day augmented, by arrivals of transports and ships of the line from England. The cessation of hostilities which had taken place in Europe, enabled the British government to send out powerful reinforcements to their fleets and armies already on the coast, and admiral sir Alexander Cochrane had been despatched with upwards of 30 sail, having on board an army of several thousand men, under major general Ross.—This force entered the Chesapeake in the course of the summer, and between the land and naval commanders, a plan of attack upon Washington, Alexandria, and Baltimore, was soon after adopted. A few weeks before the repulse of sir George Prevost, at Plattsburg, admiral Cochrane notified the secretary of state, of his having been called upon by the governor general, to lay waste,



and destroy, all such towns and districts upon the coast as might be found assailable; and that he had in consequence issued his orders to that effect, to all the naval commanders upon the station.

If this despatch were forwarded with the honourable intent of apprising the American government of the contemplated attack upon the capital, the object was either wilfully, or through negligence, defeated; for, previously to the receipt of this notice at the department of state, the enemy was already ascending, in two divisions of his fleet, the Patuxent and the Potomac. In the first of these rivers, his force amounted to 27 square rigged vessels, all of which proceeded to Benedict, the head of frigate navigation, and landed about 6000 regulars, seamen and marines. Commodore Barney, by the orders of the secretary of the navy, had made arrangements to have blown up the flotilla on the approach of the enemy; and joined the army, under general Winder. As soon as the enemy appeared, the flotilla was accordingly blown up. The enemy then took up his march by the way of Nottingham and Marlborough for Washington. At this time general Winder, with the forces intended to oppose him, was at the Wood-Yard, twelve miles to the southward of the capital. His force at this place amounted to about three thousand, including seamen and marines. As it was ascertained that the enemy was approaching, general Winder fell back to the Battalion Old Fields, to prevent his communication with the city from being intercepted. On the evening of the 23d, general Ross in force pushed within a few miles of the Old Fields, and bivouacked for the night. In the course of the afternoon preceding, his van-guard encountered the light corps of lieutenant colonel Scott, major Peter, and captain Stull, with whom a few shot were exchanged, when on the arrival of the British column these corps retreated and joined the American army. About twilight, general Winder took up his march from the Battalion Old Fields, crossed the eastern branch of the Potomac, above the navy yard, and encamped near the bridge. Early on the 24th, the enemy's column resumed its march, and reached Bladensburg, about 6 miles from Washington, without loss. At Bladensburg, general Stansbury had taken an advantageous posi-

tion, and by the greatest exertion, general Winder was enabled to interpose his whole force before the enemy, including commodore Barney's flotilla men and marines. At 1, P. M. the action commenced: The Baltimore artillery, under captains Myers and Macgruder, supported by major Pinkney's riflemen, were stationed in advance, to command the pass of the bridge, and dealt out a very destructive fire. But the British column advanced upon them in such superior force, that they were obliged to retire. Upon which, the right and centre of general Stansbury's brigade, immediately gave way, and in a few minutes he was deserted by his whole command, except about 40 men of colonel Ragan's regiment, and captain Shower's company. The 5th Baltimore regiment, under colonel Sterret, stationed on the left of general Stansbury's brigade, maintained its ground, until, lest it should be outflanked, an order was given for its retreat. The reserve, under brigadier general Smith, of the District of Columbia, with commodore Barney and lieutenant colonel Beall on their right, still remained upon the hill, and continued the contest after the flight of the Maryland brigade. As the militia retired, the British regulars advanced upon the main road, and coming immediately in front of commodore Barney's corps, he opened his 18-pounders upon them, which cleared the road, and for a time disordered their column, and retarded their approach. Two other attempts made by the enemy to pass the battery, were also repulsed; when general Ross marched a division of his troops into an open field, with a determination to flank the commodore's right. This attempt also was frustrated by captain Miller, of the marines, with three 12-pounders, and the flotilla-men acting as infantry. After being thus kept in check about half an hour, general Ross began to outflank the right of the battery, in large numbers; and pushed his main body over the ground which had been abandoned by general Smith's brigade, and threatened to turn Barney's left. Having expended nearly all his ammunition, and in consequence of the retreat of general Smith's brigade, being unprotected on his left, commodore Barney found himself unable to contend longer against the overwhelming force of the enemy. To add to his present embarrassments, he received himself a severe

wound in the thigh, and lost the services of two of his principal officers, who were killed, and also of captain Miller of the marines, and sailing master Martin, who were wounded. At this juncture, the enemy from the right and left was gaining the rear of the battery. Thus situated, the commodore gave orders for a retreat, and after being carried a short distance from the scene of his gallantry, he fell, exhausted by the loss of blood, and was soon after made prisoner by general Ross and admiral Cockburn, who put him on his parole, and having first removed him to their hospital in Bladensburg, ordered the immediate attendance of their surgeons to dress his wound.

Having thus obtained possession of the bridge, over the eastern branch of the Potomac, the enemy marched directly upon the capital, and immediately proceeded to the destruction of all the spacious and splendid edifices by which it was adorned. The senate house, the representative hall, the supreme court room, the president's house, with all its external and interior decorations, and the buildings containing the public departments, were very soon demolished, and several private houses burned to the ground. The plunder of individual property was prohibited, however, and soldiers transgressing the order were severely punished. The principal vengeance of admiral Cockburn, on whom, if the safety of the citizens' dwellings had alone depended, if he is to be judged by his former conduct, they would have rested on a slender guarantee, was directed against the printing office of the editor of a newspaper, from whose press had been issued frequent accounts of the admiral's depredations along the coast.

The navy yard, as well as a new first rate frigate, and a sloop of war, were destroyed by order of government, upon the approach of the enemy, to prevent the immense public stores, munitions and armaments, deposited there, from falling into his hands. The patent office alone, in which were collected the rarest specimens of the arts of the country, escaped the insatiable vengeance of a foe, whose destroying arm was directed against the most superb monuments of architectural skill, and public munificence. The public documents and official records, the



Flags, and various other trophies of the repeated triumphs of the American arms, and the specie from all the banks in the district, had previously been placed beyond the reach of the cupidity of the invaders, and they returned from an irruption which excited the indignation of all parties in the union, and drew forth the deprecations of the principal nations in Europe.

The president and the heads of departments, all of whom had visited the rendezvous of the troops at Bladensburg, the day before the battle, finding that the force which had been hastily assembled, did not amount to the number called for by the requisitions upon the adjacent states, returned to the metropolis to make arrangements for the augmentation of general Winder's army. This duty, which in times of less danger, required the exercise of great energy, could not be performed, before the enemy had encountered and defeated the corps already collected. The capture of these officers would have caused at least a temporary derangement of the government, and in order that its functions might be resumed immediately after the departure of the enemy, they retired from the metropolis on his approach. General Winder had also withdrawn, with the remnant of his force to Montgomery courthouse: the citizens were incapable of opposing the hostile operations of the British commanders; and the capital was therefore entirely at their mercy.

That division of the enemy's fleet, which ascended the Potomac, consisting of 8 sail, upon which were mounted 173 guns, and commanded by captain Gordon, was directed to attack the city of Alexandria. As they approached up the river, the commandant of fort Warburton, captain Dyson, destroyed that garrison, and retired with his artillerists, and the British squadron passed up to the city, without annoyance or impediment. The people of Alexandria surrendered their town, and obtained a stipulation on the 29th of August, from the British commander, that their dwellings should not be entered or destroyed. The condition upon which this stipulation was made, required the immediate delivery to the enemy, of all public and private naval and ordnance stores; of all the shipping, and the furniture necessary to their equipment, then in port; of all the merchandise, of every descrip-

tion whether in the town, or removed from it since the 19th of the month; that such merchandise should be put on board the shipping, at the expense of the owners; and that all vessels which might have been sunk upon the approach of the enemy, should be raised by the merchants and delivered up, with all their apparatus. These hard and ungenerous conditions were complied with; and on the 6th of September, captain Gordon moved off with a fleet of prize vessels, which, as well as his frigates and other vessels of war, contained cargoes of booty. In descending the river, he was warmly opposed, and received considerable damage from two batteries at the White House, and at Indian Head, under the respective commands of captains Porter and Perry, of the navy—the former assisted by general Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia infantry, and a company of riflemen, from Jefferson county, under captain Humphreys, whose brother lost an arm in the engagement; and the latter by the brigade of general Stewart, and the volunteer companies of major Petér and captain Birch. The batteries, however, not being completed, and mounting but a few light pieces, could not prevent the departure of the enemy with his immense booty, though they kept up an incessant fire from the 3d until the 6th of the month, upon the vessels passing down on each of these days. Commodore Rodgers, too, aided by lieutenant Newcombé and sailing master Ramage, made frequent attempts to destroy the enemy's shipping, by approaching within the range of musket shot, with several small fire vessels. After the communication of the fire, a change of wind prevented these vessels from getting in between the British frigates, though they excited much alarm among the fleet, whose men were actively employed in extinguishing the flames. These respective forces were afterwards concentrated, and commodore Rodgers took possession of Alexandria, with a determination to defend it, notwithstanding its surrender, against another attempt of the enemy, whose fleet was not yet out of sight from the nearest battery.

After the embarkation of the troops under general Ross, whose loss at Bladensburg nearly amounted to 1000 men, in killed, wounded, prisoners, deserters, and those who died of fatigue, admiral Cochrane concentrat-

ed the various detachments of his fleet, and made preparations for an attack upon the city of Baltimore.

Despatch vessels were forwarded to all parts of the bay, to call together the frigates stationed near the different shores, and among others the *Menelaus*, commanded by sir Peter Parker, and then lying in the neighbourhood of Moors Fields. That officer determined on an expedition against a detachment of Maryland volunteers, encamped, under colonel Read, at those fields, before he obeyed the call of the admiral; and for that purpose landed with 230 men, and made a detour to surprise and cut it off. The detachment consisted of 170 men; and its commander, being apprised of the enemy's motions, was fully prepared to receive him. Sir Peter advanced to a charge, and being repulsed, opened a fire within pistol shot, which continued nearly an hour. At the end of that time his force was driven back, with a loss of 17 carried off, and 13 killed, and 3 wounded, left upon the ground: among the wounded was sir Peter, who died immediately after being put on board the *Menelaus*.—Colonel Read had 3 men slightly wounded. The *Menelaus* joined the fleet upon the following day, and sailed with it to the mouth of the Petapsco on the 10th of September.

The fleet consisted of nearly 40 sail, and the heaviest vessels, ships of the line, anchored across the channel, and commenced the debarkation of the troops, intended for the land attack, upon North Point, 12 miles distant from the city. By the morning of the 12th, about 8000 soldiers, sailors, and marines, were in readiness to march upon the town, and 16 bomb vessels and frigates proceeded up the river, and anchored within two miles and an half of fort M'Henry.

This garrison, commanded by lieutenant colonel G. Armistead, of the United States' artillery; a battery at the Lazaretto, commanded by lieutenant Rutter, of the flotilla; a small work called fort Covington, by lieutenant Newcombe, of the *Guerriere*; a six gun battery, erected near it, by lieutenant Webster, of the flotilla; and lines of intrenchments and breastworks, hastily thrown up by the people of Baltimore, were relied on for the defence and protection of the city.



At the forts and batteries, 1000 men were stationed; along the breastworks, about four times that number; and all under command of major general Samuel Smith, assisted by brigadier general Winder, of the United States' army, and brigadier general Stricker, of the Baltimore brigade.

In anticipation of the enemy's intention to land at the point, and to meet and repulse his light parties, or to engage his whole force at a distance from the main works, general Stricker was despatched with part of his brigade, and a light corps of riflemen and infantry, from general Stansbury's brigade, under major Randal, and several companies of the Pennsylvania volunteers. On the evening of the 11th, this detachment, amounting to 3185 effective men, reached the meeting house, near the head of Bear creek, when the volunteer cavalry, under colonel Biays, were sent three miles, and captain Dyer's riflemen, two miles, in advance. Early on the following morning, captain Montgomery, with the artillery; lieutenant colonel Sterret, with the 5th; and lieutenant colonel Long, with the 27th regiments, were sent some distance forward. The artillery was planted in the middle of the North Point road, and supported on each flank by the two infantry regiments. The 51st regiment, under lieutenant colonel Amey, was stationed a few hundred yards in the rear of the 5th; the 39th, under lieutenant colonel Fowler, in the rear of the 27th; and the 6th, under lieutenant colonel M'Donald, drawn up as a reserve, half a mile in the rear of the whole.

The riflemen were ordered to skirt a low wood, with a large sedge field in its front, under cover of which, as the cavalry fell back to apprise general Stricker of the approach of the enemy, they were to annoy the British advance, and retire in good order upon the main body of the troops. Soon after these dispositions had been made, the cavalry came in with the intelligence, that the enemy's light corps were rapidly advancing along the road, and at the moment when it was expected they would be engaged by the riflemen, that body was seen falling back without having opposed them, under a presumption that the enemy had landed at Black river, in order to cut off their retreat. The general immediately pushed forward two companies from the 5th infantry, 150 in number,

under captains Levering and Howard, and commanded by major Heath, of that regiment; about 70 riflemen, under captain Aisquith; the cavalry, and 10 artillerists, with a 4 pounder, commanded by lieutenant Stiles. This detachment, having proceeded half a mile, was met by, and instantly engaged, the enemy's main body. The situation of the ground would not admit of the co-operation of the artillery and cavalry; and the infantry and riflemen sustained the whole action with great gallantry, pouring in a rapid and effective fire upon the British column, killing major general Ross, and several other officers, and impeding the advance of the British army. Having performed the duty required of them by general Stricker, the whole detachment, with a trifling loss, fell back in excellent order upon the American line. The enemy then moved forward, under colonel Brooke, upon whom the command had devolved, and at half past 2 began to throw his rockets upon the left flank of the militia brigade. Captain Montgomery immediately opened his artillery upon him, and the British played upon the left and centre with their 6 pounders and a howitzer. The cannonade continued with great vivacity, until general Stricker ordered the firing to cease, so as to draw the enemy within the range of grape and canister. Colonel Brooke then covered his whole front with the British light brigade; directed the 4th regiment, by a detour, to gain a lodgment close upon the American left, and formed a line along general Stricker's front, with the 41st regiment, the marines of the fleet, and a detachment of seamen; and placed the 21st regiment, the 2d battalion of marines, and another detachment of seamen, in columns on the main road, with orders to press on the American right, on the first opportunity. General Stricker, seeing that his left flank would be the main object of attack, ordered up the 39th into line on the 27th, and detached two pieces of artillery to the extreme left of lieutenant colonel Fowler's command. Lieutenant colonel Amey was also directed to form the 51st at right angles, with his right resting near the left of the 39th.

The whole force of the enemy at that moment pressed forward his right column, advancing upon the 27th and 39th, and attacked those regiments with great impetuosity. The 51st, which was ordered to open upon the ene-

my in his attempt to turn the rest of the line, delivered a loose fire, immediately broke, fled precipitately from its ground, and in such confusion, that every effort to rally it proved ineffectual. The 2d battalion of the 39th, was thrown into disorder, by the flight of the 51st, and some of its companies also gave way. The remainder, and the 1st battalion stood firm. Thus abandoned by the retreat of the 51st, general Stricker made new arrangements for the reception of the enemy, and opened a general fire upon him, from the right, left and centre. The artillery sent forth a destructive torrent of canister against the British left column, then attempting to gain the cover of a small log house, in front of the 5th regiment. Captain Sadtler, with his yagers from that regiment, who were posted in the house when the British 4th regiment was advancing, had, however, taken the precaution to set fire to it, and the intention of the enemy was therefore defeated. The 6th regiment then opened its fire, and the whole line entered into an animated contest, which continued with a severe loss to the enemy, until 15 minutes before 4 o'clock. At that hour, general Stricker, having inflicted as much injury upon the invaders as could possibly be expected, from a line now but 1400 strong, against a force amounting, notwithstanding its losses, to at least 7000 men, ordered his brigade to retire upon the reserve regiment; an order which was well executed by the whole line, which in a few minutes rallied upon lieutenant colonel M'Donald. From the point occupied by this regiment, general Stricker, in order to refresh his troops, and prepare them for a second movement of the enemy, retired to a position half a mile in advance of the left of major general Smith's intrenchments. Here he was joined by general Winder, who, with general Douglass's Virginia brigade, and the United States' dragoons, under captain Bird, took post upon his left.

Whilst all these movements were in operation, general Smith was actively engaged in manning the trenches and batteries with generals Stansbury and Foreman's brigades, a detachment of seamen and marines, under commodore Rodgers, colonels Cobean and Finly's Pennsylvania volunteers, colonel Harris's Baltimore artillery, and the marine artillery under captain Stiles. Colonel Brooke



did not advance with his columns further than the ground on which general Stricker had been previously formed, where he remained during the night of the 12th. Early on the following morning, he received a communication from admiral Cochrane, that the frigates, bomb ships, and flotilla of barges, would take their stations, to bombard the town and fort in the course of the morning. At day-break of the 13th, the land forces, therefore, again moved forward, and occupied a position two miles eastward of the intrenchments. The day was chiefly employed in manœuvring by both parties; colonel Brooke frequently attempting to make a detour through the country, to the Harford and York roads, and generals Winder and Stricker adapting their movements to those of the enemy, the better to frustrate his designs. At noon the British columns were concentrated directly in front of the American line, and colonel Brooke advanced to within a mile of the works, drove in the outposts, and made arrangements for an attack at night. Generals Winder and Stricker were then ordered to station themselves on the enemy's right, and in the event of an attack upon the breastworks, to fall upon that flank, or on his rear. The assault was not made, however, and the enemy, probably thinking he would be outflanked, and having discovered the strength of the defences, withdrew from his position in the course of the night, and re-embarked his troops in the evening of the 14th. His retreat was not discovered until break of that day, in consequence of the darkness of the night; and though a heavy fall of rain continued throughout the morning, general Winder with his dragoons and the Virginia militia, major Randal with his light corps, and the whole militia and cavalry, were sent in pursuit. The excessive fatigue of the troops, all of whom had been three days and nights under arms, in the most inclement weather, prevented their annoying the enemy's rear with much effect, and they made prisoners of none but stragglers from his army. At the moment when colonel Brooke advanced along the Philadelphia road, the frigates and bomb ships of the fleet approached within striking distance of the fort. Colonel Armistead had already disposed of his force to maintain the cannonade with vigour; a company of regular artillery, under captain Evans, and another of volunteer artillery, under

captain Nicholson, manned the bastions in the Star fort; captains Bunbury and Addison's sea fencibles, and captain Berry's, and lieutenant Pennington's artillery, were stationed at the water batteries; and about 600 infantry, under lieutenant colonel Stewart, and major Lane, were placed in the outer ditch, to repulse an attempt to land. The bombardment commenced. All the batteries were immediately opened upon the enemy, but the shot falling very far short of his vessels, the firing ceased from the fort, or was maintained only at intervals, to show that the garrison had not sunk under the tremendous showers of rockets and shells, incessantly thrown into the batteries. Thus situated, without the power of retaliating the attack of the enemy, colonel Armistead and his brave men endured their mortification with an unyielding spirit during the whole bombardment, which continued until 7 o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Under cover of the night, the British commanders despatched a fleet of barges to attack and storm fort Covington. The attempt was repulsed, however, and the assailants retired with an immense loss, to their bomb vessels; and on the morning of Wednesday, the whole stood down the river, and rejoined admiral Cochrane's fleet. The loss in the fort amounted to 4 killed, and 24 wounded: among the killed were two gallant young volunteer officers, lieutenants Clagget and Clem. The entire loss of the enemy has not yet been ascertained. That of the Americans on the field of battle did not fall short of 150, which, being added to the killed and wounded in the fort, makes a total of 178. The invaders having thus retired from what they called a demonstration upon Baltimore, the safety of the citizens was secured, and the different corps were relieved from further duty.

The plan of operations, however, which had been adopted by the British cabinet, to destroy and lay waste the principal towns and commercial cities, assailable either by their land or naval forces, was not to be abandoned because of this repulse, gallant and effective as it was. —The cities of Charleston, Savannah, Baltimore and Washington, were destined to be burned and plundered; and New Orleans, the great emporium of all the wealth and treasure of the western states, was to be seized, and held as a colony of Great Britain. The fail-

ure of her arms, in an assault upon either of these places, was not to prevent an attack upon another, no matter what the slaughter; and the separate commanders were directed to concentrate their forces, or draw from the Bermudas such an augmentation as should be necessary, and in the event of successive repulses upon other objects, to bend all their strength against the city of New Orleans, and its defences on the Mississippi. At the Bermudas a powerful and well appointed fleet and army was, for this purpose, collected, and their arrival upon the southern coast daily anticipated. Admiral Cochrane had, in the mean time, directed a smaller squadron of vessels, then fitting out at Pensacola, in the territory of a neighbouring nation with whom the United States were at the same moment at peace, for an expedition against some of the defences, by which the entrances to New Orleans was protected, to make the earliest preparation for an assault upon fort Bowyer, a garrison situated at a point called Mobile. In the early part of September, this squadron, consisting of two sloops of war, and two gun brigs, mounting in all 90 guns, and commanded by captain Percy, was already on its way to the intended attack. On the 12th of that month, captain Percy came within sight of the fort, landed upwards of 700 Indians and marines in its rear, where, within a small distance of the garrison, they erected a land battery, and towards the evening of the 15th, the assault commenced with a cannonade and bombardment. The fort was commanded by major Lawrence, of the 2d infantry, mounted 20 pieces of cannon, most of them of small calibre, and was garrisoned by less than 130 men. With this disproportionate strength, major Lawrence not only sustained a conflict of several hours, but eventually drove the enemy's troops from their position on the shore—destroyed his principal ship the *Hermes*, which was abandoned by her crew, and afterwards blown out of the water—and repulsed his assailants with a loss on their side, in killed and wounded, of 250 men. The remaining ships of the squadron returned to Pensacola, where they were again received by the governor, to repair their losses and obtain new equipments. Mortified in the extreme at their unexpected disaster, and fully determined on avenging it, the British commanders forthwith commenced the enlarge-



ment of their forces, by enlisting new tribes of Indians, provided with arms and ammunition, at the expense of the Spaniards.

The Creek Indians, whose numerous hordes had already been repeatedly defeated, at the Alabama, the Hickory grounds, and elsewhere, by levies of militia, under major general Jackson, (then at Tennessee, but now of the United States' army, a man of great promptness, decision and intrepidity,) and who had been reduced to the necessity of negotiating a treaty of peace with the government, were again urged to raise the tomhawk against the people by whom they had been conquered. Until some decisive and effectual measures were adopted to prevent this illegal, and, to the Americans, dangerous intercourse, the inroads of the treacherous savages would become no less frequent than before, and the facilities of annoying the adjacent American coast be greatly multiplied. At the appearance of such imminent danger, general Jackson, whose head quarters were then at Mobile, did not hesitate what plan to pursue, and without waiting for the authority of the government, he immediately collected a force of nearly 4000 men, and determined on the occupation of, and the expulsion of the enemy from, the town of Pensacola. On his arrival before that place, he required of the governor, an immediate consent to the occupation of the forts by the Americans, until they should be garrisoned by a sufficient number of Spanish troops to protect them against the violation of their neutrality, of which the British forces were entirely regardless. This proposal was unhesitatingly rejected, and after a feeble resistance to his approaches, general Jackson carried the place by storm, and forced a compliance with his equitable demand. By the persuasion of the British officers, however, the commandant of the principal fort was induced to destroy its armament, and blow up the bastions, and having secured his troops on board the British squadron, to retire with them to the Havanna. The necessity which took general Jackson to Pensacola, being now therefore at an end, he returned to the American territory, and made preparations for the defence of New Orleans.

From this period, the early part of November, until the middle of December, the naval force upon the sta-

tion was gradually increasing; it amounted at length to 60 sail, composed principally of ships of the line, heavy frigates, and transports, and comprised of the command of admiral Warren, and the detachment from Bermuda. On board this formidable fleet, was an army of nearly 16,000 men, detailed from the grand army of the Duke of Wellington, and placed under the chief command of sir Edward Packenham, the *élève* of that distinguished general. To this army was attached a general staff, selected from the ablest officers of the army of the continent, and including majors generals Gibbs, Keane, and Lambert.

To watch the approach of the enemy, and to apprise the commander in chief at New Orleans, of the advance of the fleet, commodore Patterson, commanding on the naval station there, despatched five gun boats, under lieutenant Jones, to the pass Christian. These boats consisted of No. 5, sailing master Ferris; 23, lieutenant M'Keever; 156, lieutenant commanding Jones; 162, lieutenant Speddon; 163, sailing master Ulrick; and carried 23 guns, and 182 men. The Sea Horse tender, sailing master Johnson, had been sent into the bay of St. Louis, on the morning of the 13th December, to remove the public stores from the adjacent shore, and was attempted to be cut out by three British despatch boats, whom she repulsed with considerable loss. Her commander then anchored her, at an advantageous position near the bank of the lake, on which were stationed two 6-pounders, and awaited the approach of the same barges, and a reinforcement of four others. The Sea Horse was vigorously attacked, but continued to resist her assailants upwards of 30 minutes, when sailing master Johnson set fire to her, escaped to the shore, and destroyed the deposit of provisions and stores. Lieutenant Jones, having now discovered that a squadron of barges was on its way to the pass, made arrangements to repulse an attack, and for that purpose, ordered the commanders of the boats, to form a line abreast across Malheureux island channel, with springs upon the cables. At daylight of the 15th, the enemy approached. The United States' tender, Alligator, being to the southward and eastward of the gun boats, in attempting to join them, was easily captured by a detachment of barges, and the British squadron, consisting of 42 barges, and 3 gigs, mounting 43 guns, and

carrying 1200 men, under the orders of captain Lockyer, formed also a line abreast, in open order, and commenced an engagement. Three of them attempted to board No. 156, lieutenant Jones's boat, but were promptly repulsed, with the loss, too, of all their officers. A second attempt was, a little while after, made by four other barges, with no greater success. Against this boat alone, 15 of the barges were at one moment engaged, and lieutenant Jones, having been wounded, and compelled to go below, and the master's mate, Parker, after defending her to the utmost of his skill, being also wounded, the enemy succeeded in carrying her, and turning her gun against the other gun boats. With this acquisition to his strength, the British commander obtained a more easy conquest, which was completed by the surrender of No. 23, lieutenant M'Keever, who held out to the last. This contest was as desperate as it was unequal; and the loss on board the flotilla, amounted to 6 men killed, and 35 wounded; on board the enemy's squadron, it was nearly 300.

By the capture of the gun boats, the principal protection to the coast was lost, and the enemy had it in his power, to move at pleasure, and select any point, at which the greatest facility to the landing of his troops, would be afforded. Accordingly, having collected at the Isle aux Poix, near the entrance of Pearl river, a division of his army, of upwards of 3000 men, under major general Keane, and having ascertained, that a landing might be effected, at the bayou *Catalan*, the light brigade, the 4th, 85th, and 95th regiments, Lane's rocketteers, and 100 sappers and miners, were embarked in boats, under colonel Thornton; and the 21st, 44th, and 93d regiments, under colonel Brooke; and the artillery, under major Munro, in small vessels. On the morning of the 23d, (December) this expedition, having sailed through the lake Borgne, landed at the head of the bayou. Under the immediate direction of colonel Thornton, a communication was opened through the fields of cane, the troops advanced upon the high road, surprised and captured an American picquet, passed fort Villeré, and possessed a position on general Villeré's plantation, nine miles below New Orleans, with their right on the road, and the left resting on the Mississippi. In the course of the day, they were followed by general Keane, and the remainder of



the troops, who immediately *bivouacked*, and were permitted to sleep in the utmost security. The mansion-house of general Villeré, was occupied as the British head quarters.

The promulgation of the loss of the gun boats, and of the entire command of lake Borgne, having been thence given to the enemy, produced a scene of bustle and confusion in the city of New Orleans, which could only be allayed by the activity and energy of the commander in chief. The confidence with which he had already inspired the citizens, enabled him to turn this disaster to an eventual advantage, and to animate the regulars and volunteers, with a patriotic impatience to drive off the invaders of the territory. He instantly despatched expresses in all directions, sent out messengers to brigadier general Coffee, at *Baton Rouge*, to come forth with his brigade of 2000 mounted volunteers, and made a call upon major general Carroll, of the Tennessee, and general Thomas, of the Louisiana militia, to organize and enlarge their divisions. General Adair was already on his march from Kentucky, with 2500 volunteers from that state; and before the British could approach the city by land, these forces would in all probability, be concentrated under the eye of the commanding general. Meanwhile, all the bayous, canals, and roads leading to and from New Orleans, were well reconnoitred, and upon those which the general thought to be passable, fortifications, breastworks, and other defences, were erected. Commodore Patterson was no less active in supplying the places of the seamen who had been captured. The United States' schooner *Carolina*, captain Henley, was sufficiently manned; but the sloop of war *Louisiana*, had not one sixth of her crew on board; and governor Claiborne, who neglected no means of co-operating with the arrangements of major general Jackson, and of giving the utmost facility to the execution of his orders, recommended an embargo to the legislature, to prevent the departure, in any way whatever, of foreign or native sailors. To lieutenant C. C. B. Thompson, of the United States' navy, he issued a commission of captain commandant of sea fencibles, to enable him in this trying emergency, to press and compel the services of any seamen then on shore. Being clothed with this authority, that officer im-

mediately placed himself at the head of a detachment of sailors and marines, and pressed a crew in the streets of the city, composed of sailors of several nations, speaking different languages, and incapable of understanding the orders of their commanders, or the words of each other. By the uncommon exertions of lieutenant Thompson, however, whose gallantry rendered him not less conspicuous, than his fortunate acquaintance with the languages of these separate countries to which the sailors belonged, they were in a fortnight brought to a good state of discipline. In addition to all these preparations, general Jackson proclaimed martial law, and the people of Orleans became confident of their ability to resist the British forces.

Before the occupation of general Villeré's ground, on the 23d, by general Keane, the Tennessee volunteers and militia, had arrived, and were encamped on the left bank of the Mississippi, 4 miles above New Orleans. Brigadier general Morgan was stationed with 350 of the drafted militia of Louisiana, at the English Turn below. As soon, therefore, as the advance of major general Keane was made known to general Jackson, he ordered detachments to be made from the division of general Carroll, and the brigade of general Coffee's mounted volunteers, and sent round to his own position below the city. These detachments were commanded by generals Carroll and Coffee, in person. Being resolved upon attacking the British in their encampment, general Jackson directed general Carroll to remain on the *Gentilly* road, to provide against the enemy's approach from *Chef-Menteur*, and immediately marched with general Carroll's brigade, parts of the 7th and 44th regiments, major Hind's dragoons, some uniform companies of militia, under major Plauché, 200 men of colour under major Daquin, and a detachment of artillery under colonel M'Rea; a force in all not exceeding 1500 men. The Carolina, commanded by capt. Henley, and bearing the broad pendant of commodore Patterson, proceeded down the river, to co-operate in the attack; orders having been first given to lieut. commandant Thompson to follow with the Louisiana. At 7 o'clock in the evening, the general arrived near the enemy's encampment, when he discovered that the British force extended nearly a mile along the river, and directed gen. Coffee to turn their right, whilst with

the residue of his troops, he would attack the line on the left near the river. Commodore Patterson was first, however, to open the fire of the Carolina, as the signal for the general assault. This being done, the enemy's troops were immediately aroused from the slumber and peaceful security, in which they had indulged. The fire from the starboard battery of the Carolina produced a destructive effect upon the British flank. General Jackson made a prompt advance upon its left, and general Coffee, who had dismounted his men, to give them a freer and more certain use of the rifle, rushed upon its right, and threw himself within the enemy's encampment. So unexpected and disastrous was this attack upon his position, that the British commander was filled with amazement, and for a moment scarcely knew in what manner to give it a repulse; but summoning to his immediate assistance, that sagacity and military experience, which he could not have failed to acquire in his European campaigns, he put his troops in motion to resist the nearer approaches of his antagonist. The advance of general Coffee had been made across the plantations of colonel Laronde and major Lacoste, on the latter of which he drove in the picquet guards, and encountered the British 85th regiment, under colonel Gubbin, which did not stand to receive more than one fire, when it fell back to the centre of the encampment. General Coffee then filed his division obliquely to his right, attacked a party of the enemy stationed in several small huts, and succeeded in driving it also from that position.

The right division of general Jackson's army was all this time engaged with colonel Thornton's light brigade. The action commenced with an attack made by the 7th infantry, under major Piere, who was immediately joined by the 44th, which formed upon his left, under colonel Ross. To these were soon added the militia, under major Plauché, Savary's volunteers, and the command of major Daquin; and at the moment when this corps took its post on the left of the whole line, the conflict was animated, desperate and sanguinary. Colonel M'Rea's two pieces were also engaged on the extreme right of the 7th regiment, and kept up an incessant and effective fire. Colonel Thornton's line greatly outflanking the American



right division, an attempt was made, without effect, to turn the battalion of major Daquin, and an impetuous effort to carry the artillery on the other extremity of the line. The firmness of Daquin's battalion, and the instantaneous advance of the centre, followed by a charge from the 7th and 44th, compelled the enemy gradually to retire, and left the division under general Jackson, in possession of the ground first occupied by colonel Thornton. This was the moment at which general Coffee, having felt his way to the Old Levee, near the margin of Lacoste's plantation, placed himself almost in the rear of the same ground, and annoyed the enemy with great success in his retreat. With this repulse, and the reunion of the two divisions of the American line, the contest of the 23d terminated. Fortune was running full in favour of general Jackson's troops, and he was in eager expectation of capturing the whole of the invading division; but a heavy fog, to which that country is subject, set in, and entirely destroyed his prospects. He therefore condensed his force, remained upon the field all night, and early on the morning of the 24th, assumed a position of more strength, 2 miles nearer the city. In this action, the Americans lost 213, in killed, wounded, and missing. Colonel Lauderdale, of general Coffee's brigade, fell at the head of his regiment in one of the charges; colonels Dyer and Gibbon, were each severely wounded, and major Kavanaugh fell into the hands of the enemy. On the side of the British, whose loss amounted to nearly 400 men, several officers were also severely wounded.

The vigour, impetuosity, and decision of this attack, upon their first disembarkation, caused the British commanders, even after the increase of their numbers, to advance with more caution. They therefore commenced the erection of batteries, in order to make their approaches gradual, and destroy the naval force then in the river. The Carolina had continued, during the whole course of the engagement of the 23d, to discharge her broadsides into the enemy's encampment, and succeeded in driving from the margin of the shore, the musketry and rocket-teers, who had previously been stationed there. At 2, on the morning of the 24th, lieut. commandant Thompson

joined commodore Patterson, with the Louisiana, the calmness of the weather having prevented her reaching the scene of action before. On that day a northwest wind, which blew a heavy gale, prevented either of these vessels from proceeding up the river, to anchor abreast of the position, at which general Jackson had posted himself; and its prevalence during the 25th and 26th, together with the sudden rise of the river, and the strength and rapidity of the current, compelled the commodore to remain all that time before the enemy. This he did not, without keeping up an occasional fire from both vessels. The British were in the mean time, employed in erecting furnaces for hot shot, immediately abreast of the Louisiana and Carolina. On the 26th, commodore Patterson, in obedience to the wishes of general Jackson, left the Carolina, and proceeded to New Orleans, to man and arm as many merchantmen, as might be fitted to bear the weight of heavy cannon, and to support him with such a squadron, until the line of breastworks, at his new position, should be completed. Captain Henley, and lieutenant commandant Thompson, therefore, made every effort to remove from the anchorage opposite the enemy's batteries, but their attempts were abortive, and on the morning of the 27th the battery nearest the Carolina, opened with hot shot and shells. The second shot lodged in the main hold, under the cables, in a situation too intricate to be approached, and she immediately took fire, which increased so rapidly, that captain Henley, being fearful about the explosion of her magazine, gave orders to the crew to abandon her. The event justified the captain's apprehensions, for he had scarcely reached the shore, opposite the enemy, with the loss of one man killed, and six wounded, when she blew asunder. The Louisiana then sustained the whole fire, until her situation became extremely dangerous. To have lost her, would have been to lose the whole co-operative naval force, and lieutenant commandant Thompson attempted to get up the river, under the favour of a light breeze. His efforts were, however, constantly baffled, until his skilful management rose superior to the obstacles by which he was surrounded, and he, at length, succeeded in getting her near general Jackson's position.

After the destruction of the Carolina, the enemy moved upon this position, which general Jackson had been incessantly strengthening with artillery, and some reinforcing detachments. Major general sir Edward Pakenham had previously landed with the reserve of the army, and superintended the present movement in person. At the distance of 800 yards from the line of defence, sir Edward commenced his attack, upon the morning of the 28th, by throwing bomb shells and rockets, opening a heavy and continual cannonade, and gradually advancing upon this position, with the left column under general Keane, in front, and hoping to compel general Jackson to retire to the city. The batteries at the line Jackson were immediately opened, and general Keane's column obliged to seek protection behind some houses, which are scattered in the field near and about the Levee. Several heavy pieces were planted by the enemy, under cover of which sir Edward intended to storm the American works. From two guns there, however, his column was kept in check, and he was chiefly employed in throwing shells upon the Louisiana, with the fragments of which her decks were covered. As the British advanced upon the works, lieutenant Thompson sprung the ship so as to bring her starboard broadside to bear upon, and enfilade the column. From eight guns, he kept up so incessant and destructive a fire, that in several hours 100 rounds were discharged from each; and after a violent struggle, of that length of time, to dislodge the American troops, the enemy was forcibly repulsed, and withdrew beyond the reach of immediate annoyance. Here, again, as may more naturally be supposed, the Americans, being protected by breastworks, the loss of the enemy very far exceeded that of general Jackson's camp. He is reported to have lost upwards of 250 men, whilst the American loss amounted to 17; 9 of whom were killed and 8 wounded. Among the killed was colonel Henderson, of general Carrol's division of Tennessee militia, which had just before encamped at the line. He had been sent out of the left extremity of the works, to drive off a party of the enemy, who had made a lodgment near the wood, and was killed in the first effort to execute this order. Among the wounded was major Carmick, of the marine corps, whose horse and himself were wounded by a Congreve rocket.



Having still further enlarged his forces, by new detachments of sailors, soldiers and marines, and finding that he had not yet made any impression upon the unfinished breastworks, sir Edward Packenham lost no time in the construction of batteries, and the planting of heavy pieces of cannon. The American general was no less industrious, in enlarging and improving his means of defence, and each was exercising his military energies, under the harassing fire of the other. On the 30th December, commodore Patterson opened a 24 pounder battery, which he had secretly erected on the night of the 29th, on the extreme right of the line, and so situated, as to bear upon the Old Levee, and any part of the field. The effect of this fire, united to several rapid discharges from the Louisiana, upon the enemy's advance, drove the British from their works. On the 31st two 12 pounders were landed from the Louisiana, and mounted behind the Levee. On that day, sir Edward Packenham kept up a cannonade for several hours, and received a continual return of artillery and musketry.

Early on the morning of the first of January, 1815, sir Edward having in the course of the preceding night erected two formidable batteries, commenced a discharge of heavy cannon, shells, and Congreve rockets, much more animated and successful than any other with which they had assailed the American works. Several gun carriages within camp Jackson, were destroyed, and considerable damage done to the guns themselves. The head quarters of the commanding general sustained the shock of numberless rockets and balls, and the enemy was paraded in the ditches near his batteries, in readiness to storm the work, as soon as the cannon should be silenced. The explosion of a magazine at one moment gave them a hope, that the garrison was dispirited and nearly overcome; but at the next, the rapid and tremendous discharge of artillery, evinced the determined character of the brave volunteers. A second attempt was made to reconnoitre the left of the works, resting on the woods, with a view to turn the extreme left battalion of general Coffee's brigade. But the party detached for that purpose, returned to sir Edward with information of the impracticability of such an assault upon that extremity of the line. He, nevertheless, continued

the cannonade upwards of five hours, and forwarded his heaviest pieces in advance of his main body. At the end of that time, he fell back to his encampment, and adopted a measure by which to reduce the place. The Louisiana did not participate in this engagement, because it was discovered that the enemy had erected several batteries on the edge of the river, from which they intended to throw hot shot into her, and commodore Patterson, therefore, ordered her to be kept without the range of shot, and her men were landed to assist at the batteries.

General Jackson's encampment was now every day strengthened by numbers. Major general Villeré, the present governor of Louisiana, had arrived on the 30th and 31st, with a division of Louisiana militia; major general Thomas, commanding a second division of 500 men, encamped at the close of the 1st of January, in the rear of the works; and on the 4th, general Adair's division of Kentucky militia, amounting to upwards of 2200 men, not one half of whom were armed; reported to the commander in chief, and were stationed on the plantation of *Languille*, with the exception of a detachment of 700 men, who were placed upon the line. General Morgan had, previously to the battle of the 28th, been directed to withdraw his troops from the English Turn, and to post himself on the right bank of the Mississippi, immediately opposite general Jackson's line. In addition to these dispositions of his troops, who now amounted to 3846, including the batteries on both sides of the river, the general had caused several successive lines of intrenchments and breastworks to be formed in his rear, as places of retreat, in the event of the enemy's successfully scaling the parapet of his present works.

Before the eighth of the month, general Jackson had eight distinct batteries constructed, mounting in all 12 guns, of different calibre, the largest however being a 32 pounder, under command of lieutenant Crawley, late of the Carolina. The works were one mile in extent, from the river to the Cypress Swamp, and terminated in a bend to the left of about 200 yards. On the right of these works were stationed the 7th regiment, major Plauché, major Lacoste, and major Daquin's battalions, and the 44th regiment, amounting in all to 1389 men, and com-

manded by colonel Ross of the 44th; the centre was composed of general Carroll's, and part of general Adair's division, and amounted to 1600 men; on the left was stationed the command of general Coffee, whose brigade consisted of 500 men; so that the whole line was defended by 3489 men. On the opposite side, the works erected by general Morgan were defended by 276 of the Louisiana contingent, 176 of the 2d or colonel Cavalier's regiment, and the 1st and part of the 6th, comprising 110, under colonel Degian, the whole amounting to 546 men. To these were added, on the night of the 27th, a reinforcement of 500 men, from general Adair's Kentucky militia, under colonel Davis. Commodore Patterson erected further batteries on the same side of the river, to annoy the approach of the enemy, if he should attempt it, along the Levee on the right bank of the river, and in the line which covered general Morgan's troops were planted one 12-pounder, and two brass sixes.

Sir Edward Packenham, having been reinforced by his fusileers, and the 43d infantry, which augmented his strength to 12000 regulars, and 2000 seamen, and having at intervals, during the night, between the 1st and the 8th of the month, strengthened his battery, with heavy pieces of cannon, determined on a vigorous assault upon the American works on both sides of the river. With this view, colonel Thornton, to whom was entrusted the attack upon general Morgan, was to cross the Mississippi, in boats and launches, which had been transported for that purpose, during the night, with a corps consisting of the 85th light infantry, 200 seamen, and 400 marines, the 5th West India regiment, and 4 pieces of artillery. The assault upon the works commanded by general Jackson, was to be made in two divisions. The right under major general Gibbs, and composed of the 4th, 21st, and 44th regiments, was to attack the centre of the works; and major general Keane, was to lead the 3d brigade, composed of the 43d, the 93d, and parts of the 95th, and the fusileers, on the road on the river side, to the attack of the extreme right. The reserve was constituted of the first brigade, and commanded by major general Lambert. To cover this operation, an advanced battery, of six 18-pounders, was thrown up during the



night of the 7th. General Jackson was apprised of this intended movement, by the unusual stir and bustle which was perceptible in the British camp, and made provision for the reception of the assailants. Colonel Thornton could not effect a landing at the contemplated point, but being thrown 2 or 3 miles below, a delay of several hours took place, and the attack was not, as the British general intended it should be, simultaneous.

The engagement commenced, however, on the left bank, early on the morning of the 8th, by an unusual shower of bombs and Congreve rockets; the new batteries opened; and sir Edward strove in vain to effect a breach, or to demolish the parapet. His fire was vigorously returned from the eight batteries, but he, notwithstanding, ordered his two divisions to advance, which they did with an intrepidity seldom equalled, and expected to plant their scaling ladders and fascines. The 6th, 7th and 8th batteries, covered by general Carroll and general Adair, who succeeded general Thomas, and supported by general Coffee's riflemen, kept up a rapid and unusual discharge upon general Gibbs's division, and sweeping it from right to left, compelled him very soon to recoil in confusion. The most active efforts were immediately made to rally the troops, and bring them up to a second assault, and in this act, sir Edward Packenham, who had rode to the front to animate his men, received two wounds, one of which struck him on the knee, and the other, a cannon ball, pierced his body, and cut him to pieces. Major general Gibbs, however, again led up the same column, and advanced in good order, to a very short distance from the line, where they received as animated and destructive a discharge of artillery and musketry as before. General Gibbs fell, severely wounded, and the column again fled in the utmost confusion.

The division on the right of the works, under general Keane, made a very prompt advance upon the redoubt there, jumped undauntedly into the ditch, under the fire of colonel Ross's command, and by a forcible effort, gained the redoubt, by entering the embrasures. Hence, being led by their principal engineer, colonel Renee, they mounted the breastworks, and were certain of victory. The 7th regiment fought them with great steady-

ness and perseverance; the batteries, Nos. 1 and 2, and the right of the right wing, opened a tremendous fire. Colonel Renee, and others, were killed; major general Keane severely wounded; and the whole column precipitately fell back, and retreated in the greatest disorder. The ditch was literally filled with their killed and wounded, and a large proportion of their men made prisoners. As they attempted their retreat along the bank, commodore Patterson opened the batteries from the opposite side, and did very extensive execution. The only general officer now left upon the field was major general Lambert, who, promptly coming up with the reserve, vainly attempted to check the flight of the attacking columns. The loss of three of their generals, whose bodies they saw transported from the field, and the immense slaughter which the field itself presented to them, argued more powerfully, than the commands or persuasions of general Lambert, and he was forced to take a position out of reach of the American line. The fire, nevertheless, did not cease, but being directed against the British batteries, continued until 2, P.M. and eventually silenced them. The assault was then entirely abandoned, and general Lambert fell back to the original position, to consult the admiral as to the prosecution of future operations. The result of the conference determined them upon returning to their shipping with as much order and celerity as possible. But before the embarkation could actually take place, the fate of colonel Thornton was to be known, and his division collected on the left bank of the river.

When the attack upon the main works was commenced, that officer assailed, with great impetuosity, the gun battery of general Morgan. The American right flank retired before him, and his whole attention being turned towards the left, a sharp and animated contest followed; but, being deserted by more than half their line, and far outnumbered by their enemy, the troops of that flank spiked their guns, and left the battery in possession of the assailants.

The success which attended the assault of col. Thornton, who was severely wounded, did not however avail the British arms: their disaster on the opposite side of the river, made it necessary for this division also to re-

tire; and, in obedience to the orders of general Lambert, colonel Gubbin, on whom the command of Thornton's division had devolved, re-crossed the river, and fell back upon the main body, and before the 18th January, the whole army evacuated the shore.

On the following day, the 9th, admiral Cochrane directed two bomb vessels, one sloop of war, a brig, and a schooner, to station themselves before fort St. Philip, with a view to its bombardment and destruction. On that day they commenced an attack, and continued throwing shells into the fort until the 17th in the evening, when the commandant, major Overton, opened a heavy mortar (not until then in readiness), and threw the line of ships into such disorder, that, on the morning of the 18th, they retired to the anchorage of the fleet.

The expedition, which had been thus extensively planned in England, and for the fitting out of which an immense treasure had been exhausted, was thus resisted, and entirely destroyed, by the valour and perseverance of a small army, principally made up of volunteers and militia, and commanded by a general, whose military career, though brilliant, and almost unparalleled, was commenced but two years before. The slaughter which attended this repulse of the invading army, was, on their side, never surpassed at any other battle. Besides their generals and other officers of high rank, the British lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, about 4000 men. The American, killed, wounded, and missing, did not exceed 500.

The British fleet, however, continued in the neighbourhood, and on the 10th of February, general Lambert having landed near fort Bowyer, with a large body of his troops, demanded of lieutenant colonel Lawrence the surrender of the garrison. In its rear an extensive and heavy battery had been planted, and the powerful force by which it was surrounded, made it expedient that the fort should capitulate on honourable terms, or that the garrison should submit to the sword. Colonel Lawrence chose that line of conduct which propriety and humanity dictated, and the enemy took possession of the fort.

On the same day, the British sloop of war Brazen arrived off the station, with intelligence that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the American



and British ambassadors at Ghent, which had met the approbation of the prince regent of England. Not long after, general Jackson was apprised by the secretary of war, of the ratification of the treaty by the president and senate, and all hostilities immediately ceased. A regular and mutual exchange of prisoners was entered upon, and the volunteers and militia were honourably discharged, and sent to their homes, with the gratitude and applause of their country.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

*The Navy—Loss of the United States' frigate President—The Constitution engages and captures the British frigate Cyane, and sloop of war Levant—Capture of the sloop of war Penguin, by the Hornet.*

THE blockade of the frigates United States and the Macedonian, and the sloop of war Hornet, at New London, having continued until the only season at which they could possibly escape, had elapsed, the Hornet was ordered to remain at her station as a guard ship, whilst the frigates were to be moved up New London river, to the head of navigation for heavy vessels, and there to be dismantled. Commodore Decatur, and the crew of the United States, were transferred to the frigate President, then moored at New York. In the course of the winter, a cruise to the East Indies was determined on, at the navy department, to be performed by a squadron, consisting of that frigate, the sloop of war Peacock, then also at New York, the sloop of war Hornet, and the Tom Bowline, a merchant vessel, bought into the service as a store ship. The Hornet was therefore directed to proceed to the same harbour. On the night of the 18th November, captain Biddle passed the blockading squadron, without being discovered, and joined commodore Decatur at New York. That port had been, also, constantly blockaded, and several frigates, sloops of war, and a razee, were at that time cruising off the Hook. On the 14th of January, commodore Decatur, thinking it more likely to

get to sea, with the President singly, directed captain Warrington to follow him, with the Peacock and Hornet, as soon as the Tom Bowline was in readiness; and having assigned the island of *Tristan d'Acunha*, as the first place of rendezvous, proceeded to the bay, with a view of escaping from Sandy Hook in the night. In consequence of the negligence of the pilot, the President struck upon the bar, and remained there thumping, upwards of two hours. This accident caused her ballast to shift, and when extricated from this situation, by the rise of the tide, it was discovered that she had entirely lost her trim. The course of the wind forbidding her return to port, the commodore determined, nevertheless, upon running out to sea, and did not doubt but she would soon recover that ease in sailing, for which she had been long celebrated. At daylight he fell in with the British squadron, under captain Hayes, composed of the Majestic (razee), the frigates Endymion, Tenedos, and Pomone, and the Despatch brig, which immediately gave chase. The President was lightened as much as possible, but the superior sailing of the enemy's ships, enabled them to gain rapidly upon her, and the leading frigate, the Endymion, of 49 guns, and mounting 24-pounders on her gun deck, got close under her quarters, and commenced firing.—Commodore Decatur, finding that the Endymion was cutting up his rigging, without his being able to bring a gun to bear, determined to bear up and engage her, and if possible, to run her on board, and in the event of carrying her, to sail off and abandon the President. But the enemy manœuvred to avoid this plan, and the conflict continued two hours, and ended in silencing and beating off the Endymion, with her hull and rigging much cut up, her masts and spars badly injured, and a great proportion of her crew killed and wounded. The President was also considerably damaged, and lost 25 men killed, and 60 wounded; among the former, lieutenants Babbit and Hamilton, and acting lieutenant Howell; among the latter, the commodore, and midshipman Dale, who lost a leg, and died of his wounds at Bermuda. By this time the rest of the squadron came within two miles of the President. The Endymion had hauled off to repair, and commodore Decatur made another attempt to escape. But, in three hours, the Pomone and Tenedos lay along side,

and the *Majestic* and *Endymion* were within a short distance of him. The gallant commodore, not choosing to sacrifice the lives of his crew in a useless contest, with a squadron of ships mounting not less than 110 guns, received the fire of the nearest frigate, and surrendered. He was taken on board the *Endymion*, to whose commander he refused to deliver his sword, when required, alleging, that if they had been singly engaged, that officer would inevitably have been captured, and that he had struck to the whole squadron. The enemy, however, asserted that the *President* had been conquered by the *Endymion* alone; that her damage was sustained in a storm which rose up after the battle; and having repaired both vessels, sent the prize from Bermuda to England, under her convoy. There she was lightened, and laid in dock along side an old 74, which was deeply laden, to give her a smaller appearance in the water than the *President*.

The United States' frigate *Constitution*, which had been some time repairing at Boston for a cruise, sailed from that port on the 17th December, still under the command of captain Stewart. After cruising in various parts of the ocean, and in the track for outward and homeward bound convoys, until the 20th of February, she fell in with two strange men of war sail, at ten minutes past 1, P. M. on that day. One of these being to windward, was bearing up for the *Constitution*, and at 2h. 30m. displayed signals, and squared away to the westward to join her consort. The *Constitution* set every rag in chase, and a few minutes before 3, commenced firing from her forward guns on the gun deck. At 3h. 15m. the main royal mast of the *Constitution* was carried away, and enabled the enemy's vessels to distance her fire. Before 5, a new-royal mast was completed, and a little while after the breeze freshened, and the ship to leeward tacked to the southward, under all sail. At 6, the two ships hauled to, on the larboard tack in line, and in ten minutes the *Constitution* ranged ahead of the sternmost, brought her on the quarter, her consort on the bow, at 200 yards distance, and opened a broadside, which was immediately returned. An exchange of broadsides continued, until the three ships were completely enveloped in smoke, upon the clearing away of which, the *Constitution* found herself abreast of the headmost ship, and captain Stewart ordered both sides



to be manned, backed topsails, and dropped into his first position. The ship on the bow backed sails also. The Constitution's broadsides were then fired from the larboard battery, and in a few minutes the ship on the bow perceiving her error in getting sternboard, filled away, with an intention of tacking athwart the bows of the Constitution, and the ship on the stern fell off, perfectly unmanageable. The Constitution then filled away, in full pursuit of the former, came within 100 yards of her, and gave her several raking broadsides. She made all sail before the wind, with a view to escape, and captain Stewart, knowing her crippled situation would enable him to overhaul her at any time, after securing her consort, wore round, and ranged along side the latter ship, from which a gun was fired to leeward, to signify that she had surrendered. Possession was then taken by lieutenant Hoffman, of his Britannic majesty's frigate Cyane, captain Gordon Falkon, of 34 guns, 32lb. carronades. Her commander and officers being brought on board, captain Stewart sailed in chase of the other vessel, and in a short time discovered her standing for him on the weather bow. In a few minutes the enemy fired a broadside, which being instantly returned, he tacked ship, made all sail, and at that moment received a rake from the starboard broadside of the Constitution. Upon gaining his wake, captain Stewart opened a fire from his gun deck chase guns, with such effect, that the enemy hove too and surrendered with five feet water in his hold, his masts tottering, and nothing but the smoothness of the sea prevented them from going overboard. Lieutenant Ballard was sent on board, and took possession of his Britannic majesty's ship Levant, captain Douglass, of eighteen 32lb. carronades, and two large 12 pounders. The loss on board the Cyane and Levant amounted to 40 men killed, and nearly double that number wounded; on board the Constitution, where no other spar was lost than the fore topgallant yard, 4 men were killed, and 11 wounded.

On the 10th of March, captain Stewart, entered the harbour of Port Praya with his prizes, and on the 11th, a British squadron, consisting of the Leander, sir George Collier; the Newcastle, lord George Stewart; neither of them carrying less than 60 guns; and the frigate Acasta, captain Kerr, of 44 guns, which had sailed from the east-

ern coast of the United States, in quest of the Constitution, appeared off its entrance. Captain Stewart immediately made sail, escaped from the harbour with his squadron, and was closely pursued by the enemy's three ships. After a long and perilous chase, the Constitution and Cyane escaped their pursuers, and arrived safely in the United States; but the Levant, after whom all sail was made by the enemy's ships, ran into Port Praya, with a heavy fire of broadsides from the Leander and Newcastle, to put herself under the protection of the neutral port. The neutrality of the Portuguese was not regarded by the British squadron, however, and they recaptured the Levant, and carried her into Barbadoes.

A few days after the departure of the President from New York, the Peacock, Hornet, and Tom Bowline, left that harbour, without knowing of her capture. On the third day after sailing from Sandy Hook (the 23d of January,) the Hornet parted company with the Peacock and Tom Bowline, and directed her course towards the island of Tristan d'Acunha, the first designated rendezvous for the squadron. On the 23d of March, she descried the British brig Penguin, captain Dickenson, of 18 guns, and a 12lb. carronade, to the southward and eastward of the island. This vessel had been fitted out, and 12 supernumerary marines put on board, with whom, her crew amounted to 132 men, to cruise for the American privateer, Young Wasp. Captain Biddle immediately made sail, cleared the island, and hove to, until the Penguin, at the same time coming down, should be within striking distance. At 40 minutes past 1, P.M. the Penguin hauled her wind on the starboard tack, hoisted English colours, and fired a gun at musket shot distance. The Hornet immediately luffed to, sent up an ensign, and gave the enemy a broadside. A constant fire was kept up for 15 minutes, the Penguin all that time gradually nearing upon the Hornet, when captain Dickenson gave orders to run her on board, and was killed by a grape shot before he saw them executed. Lieutenant M'Donald, upon whom the command of the Penguin then devolved, bore her up, and running her bowsprit in between the main and mizen rigging of the Hornet, ordered his crew to board. His men, however, seeing the Hornet's boarders not only ready to repel them, but waiting for orders to jump upon

the Penguin's deck, refused to follow him. At that moment the heavy swell of the sea lifted the Hornet ahead, and the enemy's bowsprit carried away her mizen shrouds and spanker boom, and the Penguin hung upon the Hornet's quarter deck, with the loss of her foremast and bowsprit. Her commander then called out that he had surrendered. Though he was not distinctly understood, captain Biddle ordered his marines to cease firing, and demanded of the Penguin whether she had struck. An officer of the Hornet discovered a man taking aim at captain Biddle, after the surrender, and called to him to avoid the fire. He had scarcely done so, when a musket ball struck the captain in the neck, severely wounded him, and passed through his coat collar. Two marines, to whom the man was pointed out, who had discharged his piece at their commander, immediately fired at and killed him, before he brought it from his shoulder. The Penguin just then got clear of the Hornet, and the latter wore round to give the enemy a fresh broadside, when her commander called out a second time that he had surrendered. The severest exercise of authority became necessary, to prevent the Hornet's crew, who were incensed at the enemy's firing after she had struck, from discharging the broadside. Twenty-two minutes after the commencement of the action, she was taken possession of by Mr. Mayo, of the Hornet. The Penguin was so much injured, that captain Biddle determined upon taking out her crew, and scuttling her; after doing which, he sent his prisoners to St. Salvador in the Tom Bowline, by which vessel and the Peacock he was joined on the 25th of the month. In this action the Penguin lost 14 men killed, and 28 wounded; the Hornet, 1 killed, and 11 wounded; among the latter, her first lieutenant, Conner, dangerously.

Having bent a new suit of sails, and repaired his rigging, captain Biddle was in a perfect condition to prosecute the cruise, and, together with the Peacock, after waiting the full time for commodore Decatur, at the island of Tristan d'Acunha, sailed on the 12th of April for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 27th, they discovered a British ship of the line, with an admiral's flag. The Peacock and Hornet immediately separated, and made all sail in different directions from the stranger, who came up in pursuit of the latter. The chase com-



menced at about two o'clock of the 27th, and continued until 10 in the morning of the 30th, during which time the enemy's bow guns were continually fired—his vessel frequently gained upon, and was as often dropped by the *Hornet*; and captain Biddle, after throwing overboard every heavy article at hand, and all his guns but one, at length effected his escape, and went to St. Salvador for the purpose of refitting. On his arrival there, he gained intelligence of the conclusion of hostilities, between the two nations, and sailing thence, soon after returned to the United States about the latter end of July, and was promoted to the rank of post captain.

The capture of the *Cyane*, the *Levant*, and the *Penguin*, took place before the expiration of the time limited by the 2d article of the treaty of peace, to constitute their legality, and the only one of them which got into port, the *Cyane*, was taken into the service of the United States.

Thus terminated a war of two years and eight months, in which the naval arms of the United States, were fifteen, and those of Great Britain, four times triumphant; and during which, the former lost three frigates, seven sloops, and five smaller vessels, of war: whilst the latter, lost five frigates, nineteen sloops of war, one of which was blown up by a land battery, several gun brigs and schooners, two brigs cut out from under the guns of a fort, and upwards of fifteen hundred merchantmen, captured by private armed vessels. The operations of the American armies, were, at the commencement of the war, not quite so successful:—Defeat, disgrace, and disaster, in many instances, followed their movements; but the struggle was eventually closed by a succession of achievements, which reflected the highest degree of lustre upon the American name, and ranked the United States among the first and most independent nations of the earth.

FINIS.

## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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GENERAL BROWN, face title page.

CONSTITUTION and GUERRIERE, face page 39.

WASP and FROLIC, face page 45.

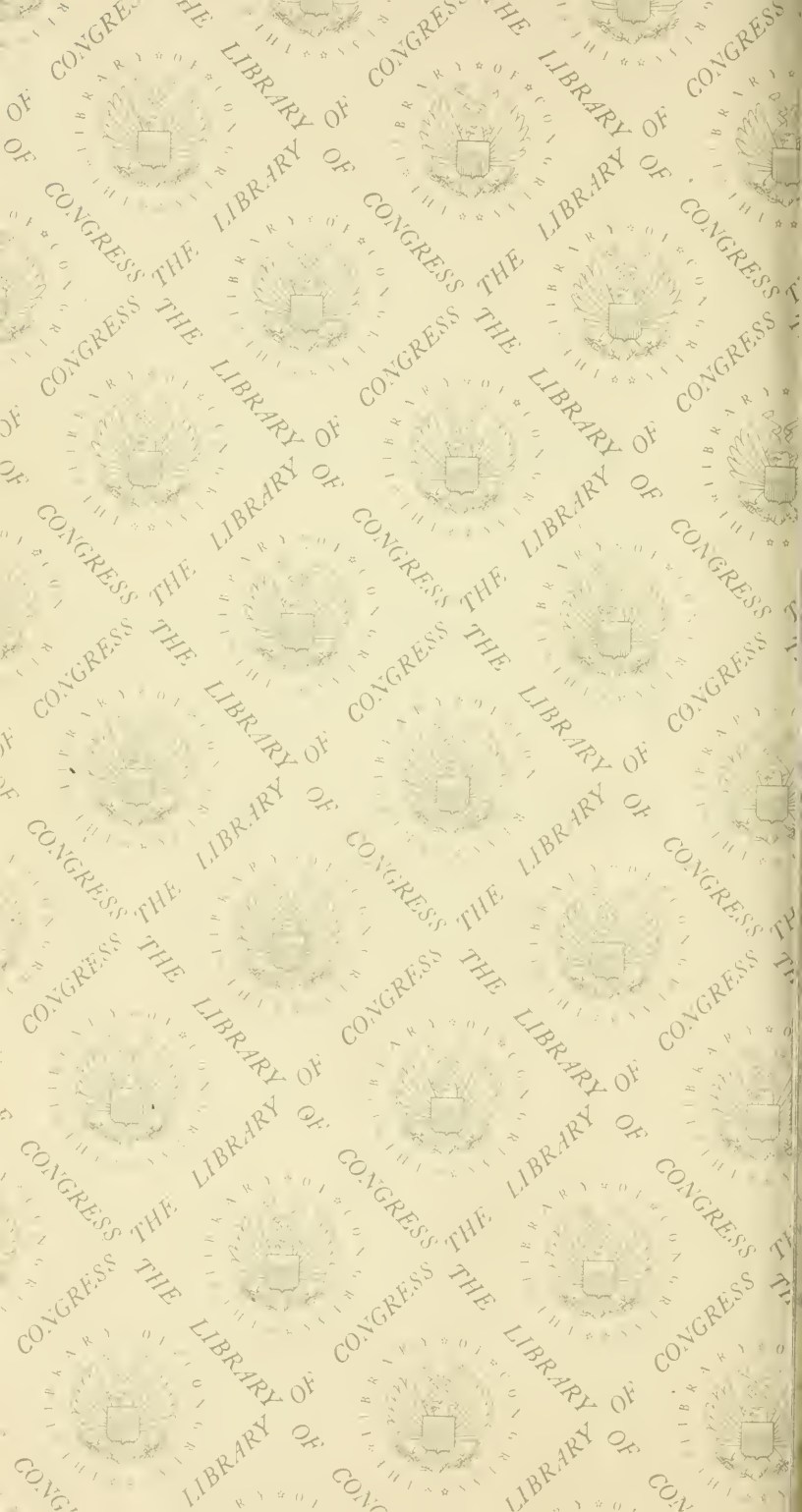
UNITED STATES and MACEDONIAN, face Chap. VI.

CONSTITUTION and JAVA, face page 96.

HORNET and PEACOCK, face Chap. XIII.









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